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### Clinton discusses summit strategy with PM, Arafat

By DANNA HARMAN

US President Bill Clinton phoned both Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat yesterday to gauge prospects for progress at Thursday's summit and discuss technicalities of the meeting.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said Clinton spoke to the two leaders separately for a half hour each and tried to identify the areas of agreement and disagreement in advance of the trilateral meetings at Maryland's Wye Plantation. Netanyahu and Arafat will begin the summit at a joint White House meeting with Clinton before setting off for Wye.

Meanwhile, seeking to shore up support at home, Netanyahu met with his inner cabinet late last night in preparation for today's cabinet meeting. Netanyahu has cleared five hours for the meeting, at which all min-

isters will be given the opportunity to present their opinions on the summit. It is expected that Netanyahu will promise the ministers to continue his tough stand regarding reciprocity, but will ask them not to dictate parameters for the negotiations so he will have the flexibility to make a deal.

There is speculation among the ministers that the prime minister is open to compromise on several matters—including the extradition of Palestinian prisoners and the immediate convening of the PNC to abrogate the Palestinian Covenant articles hostile to Israel—and does not want to be bound by any internal "red lines" prior to the start of the summit talks. One thing Netanyahu has no intention of compromising on is the demand that the PA seriously fight terror. "We will always continue to fight against murderers," said Netanyahu on Sunday at the funeral of 19-year-old Sec.-Lt. Michal Adato, who was stabbed to death by a Palestinian man on her way home Friday. "These terrorists care nothing for agreements and compromises and therefore the only way to deal with them is to destroy them."

MK Rehavam Ze'evi (Mokedet), however, who also spoke at the funeral, was harsh in his criticism of Netanyahu, saying that by going forward with an agreement while Israeli citizens live under constant fear of terrorism attacks, the prime minister is showing great weakness. "One does not fight terror by writing books," said Ze'evi, referring to Netanyahu's books on terrorism. "They [the PA] incite the killing of Jews, while their bosses share meals with our leaders. This is not the way to fight terror, and whoever acts this way holds indirect responsibility for this murder."

Ze'evi and Netanyahu met for two hours on Sunday, following Netanyahu's repeated requests. Ze'evi had reportedly snubbed Netanyahu by refusing to see him either before or after the funeral. There is speculation that Netanyahu is considering offering Ze'evi the National Infrastructure portfolio as a way of toning down his harsh criticism of the government's readiness to implement a second redeployment; both Ze'evi's and Netanyahu's offices deny this is being discussed.

See CLINTON, Page 17

## Firestorm ravages Carmel range

Thousands of dunams destroyed in blazes throughout the country

By DAVID RUDGE

Devastating fires swept across huge tracts of Mt. Carmel, other parts of the North, and in the Jerusalem corridor area over Simhat Torah, destroying or damaging dozens of houses and cars and driving hundreds of people from their homes.

In addition, thousands of dunams of forests, fields, and grazing land were destroyed. A handful of people, including firefighters, were lightly injured, mainly from smoke inhalation.

Fire and Rescue Commissioner Moshe Vardi called the fires in the North "very serious," and said that negligence appeared to be the cause.

In the Jerusalem Forest and Latrun area, dozens of dunams of forest and brush were destroyed by two major fires.

Police suspect that the Jerusalem Forest fire was caused by arson. The worst of yesterday's fires broke out on Mt. Carmel less than 24 hours after a huge blaze ravaged part of Haifa's upscale Danya quarter which adjoins the Carmel National Park.

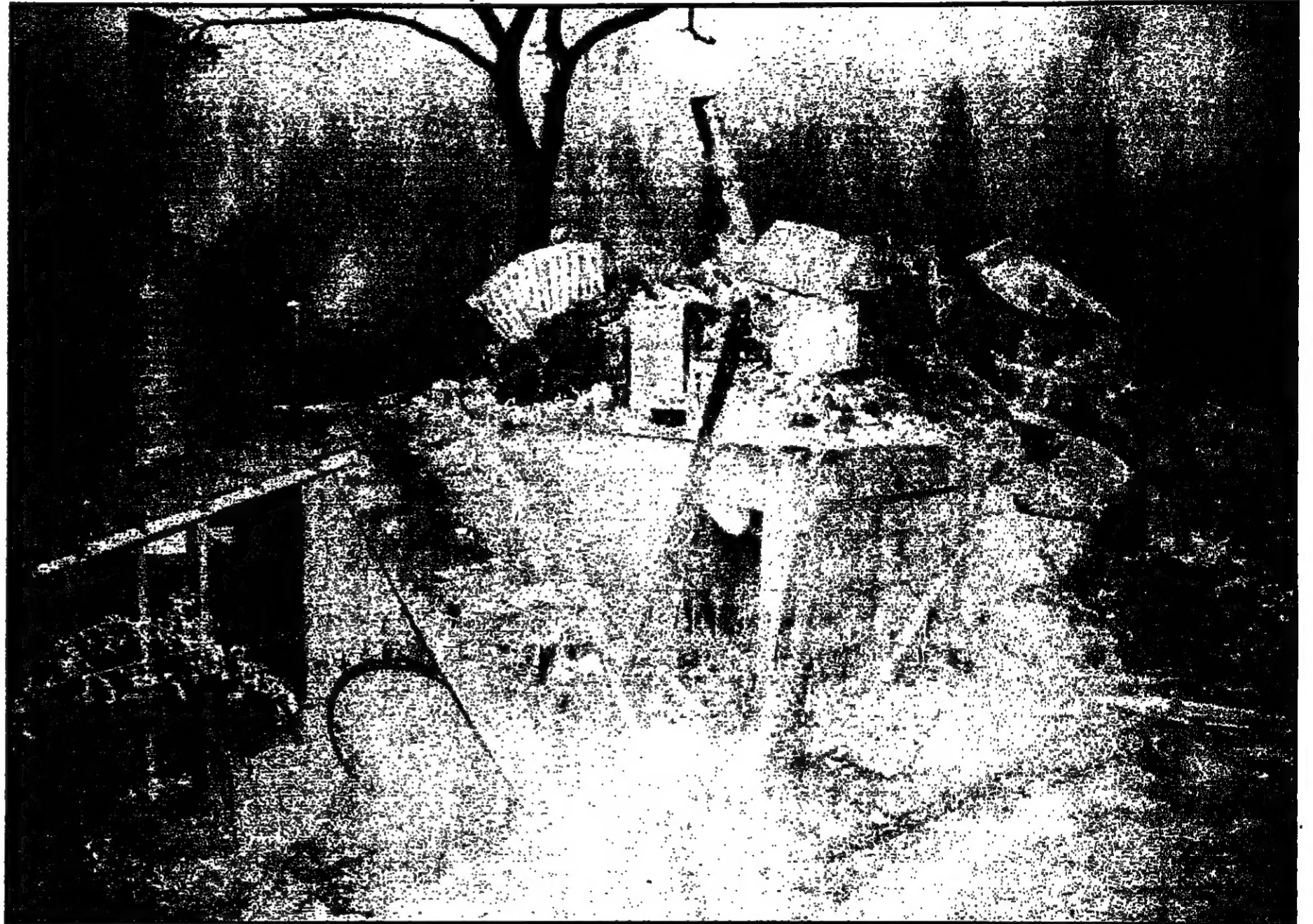
At least two luxury homes in Danya were gutted and dozens more were damaged, some extensively, in addition to several vehicles and 5,000 dunams (1,250 acres) of natural and planted forest.

Other fires raged in Zichron Ya'acov, the artists' village of Ein Hod, the nearby Beduin hamlet of Ein Hud, and neighboring Moshav Nir Etzion. At least 10 houses in Ein Hod were gutted by the fire and several others were damaged. Some residents were reportedly trapped on rooftops before being rescued.

Residents were evacuated from Nir Etzion, Ein Hod, Ein Hud and the Yemin Orde Youth Village. Guests were also evacuated from the Ye'arot Hacarmel health club. Later last night residents of Nir Etzion and Ein Hud were told they could return home.

The damage from the fires in Danya, Zichron Ya'acov, Nir Etzion, Ein Hod and Ein Hud is expected to run into millions of dollars, in addition to the costs incurred by the use of IAF helicopters and light planes to help douse the flames.

The Hadera - Haifa road was



This house destroyed by fire in the Ein Hod artists' colony yesterday is one of dozens ravaged by blazes in the North.

(Ronit Schitzer, courtesy of 'Ma'ariv')

closed on several occasions amid efforts to fight the fires, whose flames shot as high as 20 meters into the air until finally brought under control late last night.

Earlier in the day, firefighters called in reinforcements from other parts of the country, setting up a forward command post in Nir Etzion overlooking the wadi where the roaring blaze raged

back and forth according to the vagaries of the wind.

IAF Yasur helicopters flew dozens of missions, filling huge buckets hung from cables and then dumping the water onto what some firefighters referred to as "a firestorm."

On the ground more than 100 firefighters used 30 fire engines to fight the blazes alongside JNF

wardens, National Park and Nature Reserve Authority rangers, and soldiers.

Two houses were badly damaged in Zichron Ya'acov, including the former turn-of-the-century home of Sarah Aharonson, whose family fought against Turkish rule.

See FIRESTORM, Page 17

## A-G seeks to bar Eitan from security c'ttee

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein, in an unusually sharply worded letter, has asked Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to bar Deputy Minister Michael Eitan from meetings of the ministerial security committee.

Rubinstein also asks that Netanyahu demand an apology from Eitan to the state attorney and the head of the General Security Service for allegations he made about them.

Netanyahu had earlier dissociated himself from Eitan's remarks.

The unprecedented move by Rubinstein comes in response to a dossier compiled by Eitan, in which he asks the prime minister to set up a national commission of inquiry. Its contents were leaked to the media shortly before Succot.

At the time, Eitan, a deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office, also charged that State Attorney Edna Arbel and GSS head Ami Ayalon, who appeared

before the committee, had whitewashed the role played by GSS agent Avishai Raviv so as to cover up for security failures.

The dossier contains minutes from the confidential ministerial security meeting.

Citing Paragraph 44 (a) of the Basic Law: Government, Rubinstein notes that it is forbid-

den to reveal details of the committee's meetings. "There has to be a price for lawlessness," Rubinstein states in his letter to Netanyahu; otherwise, he says, this will start an endless downward spiral. Therefore, he asks the prime minister to ban Eitan from further meetings.

"A public figure has legitimate ways to express his views," Rubinstein writes. "Leaking secret minutes is not one of them."

Eitan reacted angrily last night. "They are scared Avishai Raviv will open his mouth," Eitan said. "The State Attorney's Office and the GSS are covering up for their foul-up."

Eitan said that, in October 1996, he had first published his findings showing apparent evidence that Raviv had incited to murder Rabin, had been involved in physical violence, in terrorism, and in attacking property.

"In April 1997, after it became clear that the Shamgar Commission did not have the material I had, I met with Arbel and she promised me to deal with it swiftly and to respond. Since then, 1 1/2 years have passed and the state prosecution has not reacted," Eitan said, adding that "a criminal that the GSS says acted without permission and against orders is not being tried."

There were only two files on Raviv brought before the attorney-general during the eight years Raviv served as an agent. Most of the files were closed by the police and not necessarily because Raviv was an agent. This does not include the files currently under investigation.

B.T.

See EITAN, Page 17

### Police closed most files on Raviv

From State Attorney Edna Arbel's letter to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the following relationship emerges between General Security Service agent Avishai Raviv and the state prosecution:

• Raviv began operating as an agent in 1987 and his job was terminated after Yitzhak Rabin's assassination.

• The State Attorney's Office had a marginal involvement in

the Raviv case over these years and did not participate in operative matters.

• There were only two files on Raviv brought before the attorney-general during the eight years Raviv served as an agent.

• Most of the files were closed by the police and not necessarily because Raviv was an agent. This does not include the files currently under investigation.

B.T.

## Exclusive quarter feels the heat

By DAVID RUDGE

Residents of Haifa's Danya quarter were alerted to the danger of the fire, which eventually swept through parts of the upmarket housing district, shortly after 1 a.m. on Sunday morning.

What had started as an orange glow among trees in the distance became, in the space of a few minutes, a threat to their lives and their homes.

"We were awakened around 1:30 when we heard a noise outside the house. We went outside and saw flames near our neighbors' house. The smoke was very thick so that we couldn't see much else," said Baruch Piven, an area resident.

He was among those who stayed behind to protect his home against the encroaching blaze, despite police instructions to all residents to evacuate.

"My wife and children went with someone else, along with the others who evacuated the district

while I and another neighbor stayed."

He said that together they used a hose to douse flames in the neighbor's house that had caught fire.

Other residents also tried to dampen their gardens and buildings with hoses and some hurled buckets of water against the flames.

The fire, however, proved too fierce, whipped by strong winds that in places helped flames to jump across gaps of up to 100 meters.

As leaves and branches burned and fell to the ground or were blown away in the wind, one resident said that it looked as if it was "raining fire."

As the flames encroached on the southern reaches of the district, where home prices range from \$ 300,000 upwards, residents packed what they could and fled.

See HEAT, Page 2

## US sees progress from Holbrooke's Kosovo mission

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - US envoy Richard Holbrooke made some important progress yesterday in last-ditch talks with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic aimed at heading off NATO air strikes over the Kosovo crisis, but snags remained, a senior White House official said. The official said the US still

plans to approve authorization of military action to punish Serbs for an offensive against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

"There's been some important progress made and we still continue to stress that he is not in compliance," said the official of efforts to persuade Milosevic to comply with a UN Security

Council resolution that called off a Serb offensive that is generating a major humanitarian crisis in Kosovo, a province of Serbia.

The official said Holbrooke had spent much of his time in talks with Milosevic fighting for a system to verify if the Yugoslav president is keeping his word on any Serb withdrawal of forces

verification regime to monitor any activity on the ground. It's a key piece of any resolution because no one believes what Milosevic says," the official said.

In Brussels, Holbrooke was briefing NATO ambassadors who were due to sign an activation order authorizing air strikes if

### FIFTY YEARS OF FINANCE & INDUSTRY



**INSIDE TODAY'S BUSINESS SUPPLEMENT**

Special section honoring Israel's Jubilee Award Recipients



## NEWS

in brief

## Brothers killed in succa buried

Yitzhak Trovitch, three, and his brother, Yosef, five, were buried Sunday on Jerusalem's Har Hamenuhot. The brothers burned to death in their sleep in their family succa in Ofakim on Saturday night, when a candle apparently fell over and ignited the booth.

According to Israel Radio, the boys were supervised by an older sibling, who had gone into the house for a moment to fetch a drink. When he returned, he found the succa in flames and suffered burns trying unsuccessfully to rescue his two brothers. *Itim*

## Pedestrian killed near Gedera

A commercial vehicle struck and killed a pedestrian early Sunday on the road between Gedera and the Kanot junction. An ambulance medic pronounced the victim dead at the scene. The victim was not identified. *Itim*

## Man nearly drowns in Tel Aviv

A 35-year-old man was listed in serious condition last night after nearly drowning at the Jerusalem Beach in Tel Aviv yesterday afternoon.

Magen David Adom medics resuscitated the victim and rushed him to Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv, where he was put on a respirator. *Itim*

## Generali refuses compromise, won't get award

The Assicurazioni Generali insurance company refused a compromise proposed by the government under which Yad Vashem would be responsible for releasing the names of policyholders from between 1920 and 1945.

The compromise was a condition for the company receiving the Jubilee Award tomorrow at the Prime Minister's Jubilee Business Summit in Jerusalem.

As a result, Bobby Brown, the prime minister's Diaspora affairs adviser, confirmed last night that the award would be withheld. The Jubilee Award is being presented to several foreign companies for investing more than \$50 million here.

Sources in the Prime Minister's Office said that while they do not expect the company to change its mind before tomorrow, if it does so, the award will be given. *Itim*

## Firecrackers thrown in Ras al-Amud

Three firecrackers were thrown last night into the Jewish-owned property in Ras al-Amud in eastern Jerusalem. No one was injured, and there was no damage.

Border policemen identified three suspects and chased them into a crowd of dozens of local residents, who came out into the streets after the firecrackers were thrown. The suspects got lost in the crowd. *Amy Klein*

## PM's business conference begins tonight

The Prime Minister's Jubilee Business Summit begins in Jerusalem this evening with more than 400 foreign delegates participating.

The conference brings together dozens of the world's leading businessmen in a bid to encourage investments here.

Tomorrow night, immediately prior to taking off for the US, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu will award prizes to businesspeople who have contributed to the development of the nation's economy. *David Zev Harris*

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved husband, father, and saba

## HARRY (Zvi) BLOOMBERG

Bloomberg, Haim, and Raziel families

## MICHAL (Merle-Ann) PINCUS-BLUM

has left us

Her family and friends miss her already.

The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, October 13, 1998, at the Ramat Hasharon (Morasha) Cemetery.

Her husband, Kalman Blum  
Her daughters, Daniela and Tamar Pincus

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing in old age of

## BETTY MYERS

The funeral will take place in Beit Zayit today, Tuesday, October 13, 1998, at 4 p.m.

Gerry and Fanny Myers  
Bill and Marie Myers  
Grandchildren and great-grandchildren

With great sorrow we announce that

## EUGENE LARONNE

passed away on Sunday, October 11, 1998.

Deeply mourned and sadly missed by

His wife: Ayala

Children: Gideon and Terry Laronne

Dorit and Peter Stange

Ofer and Hanni Laronne

Grandchildren: Dafna and Arjan, Shelley,

Davy, Michael, Tamar, Kim, Stav and Yael.

The funeral will be held today, Tuesday, October 13, 1998 in Kfar Shmaryahu at 4 p.m.

With deep regret we announce the passing away of our beloved

## LOUIS AHARON KROKIN 57

The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, October 13, 1998, at 10:30 a.m. at Herzliya Cemetery.

We will meet at the gate of the cemetery.

Mourners:  
Daughter and son-in-law: Shulie and Yitzhak Bezalel  
Son: Shimon Cassif (Krokin)  
and grandchildren.

The shiva will be at the home of the Bezalel family, Rehov Rabbi Akiva 19, Herzliya.

## PA: Summit success rests on PM

By STEVE RODAN and MOHAMMED NAJIB

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat leaves for Washington today for the scheduled summit with President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as PA officials said the success of the meeting depends on Israel.

Arafat's departure comes one day after he convened his cabinet and then conferred with Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan in Amman.

Itim reported last night that Arafat will stop in London, where he will meet with British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

The PA chairman's adviser, Nabil Abu Rudeineh, said that US President Bill Clinton, in a phone call to Arafat yesterday, invited Arafat to the White House on Thursday before the start of the summit, Itim reported.

PA minister and negotiator Saeb Erekat said the summit will succeed only if Netanyahu agrees with the US bridging proposals to implement IDF withdrawal in the West Bank.

"It is time to deliver," Saeb Erekat said after the Sunday night PA cabinet meeting. "It depends on Mr. Netanyahu. If he says 'yes' to the American initiative and stops attempts to change the references of the

interim agreement, we will reach an agreement in no time."

In a statement issued after its meeting, the PA cabinet reiterated its call for reciprocity on security. The cabinet said it supported an Israel-Palestinian security memorandum reached under Clinton administration auspices in December 1997.

"Security cannot be separated from the peace process," the statement said. "Real security comes through the implementation of the agreement."

Erekat added: "The lives of Palestinians is not less than the lives of Israelis."

PA officials said the summit agenda will deal with a third troop redeployment, the opening of a Palestinian airport and sea port, and the status of more than 3,000 Palestinian prisoners.

PA Economic and Trade Minister Maher Masri said the IDF closure of the territories has also become a major issue. He said the closure has damaged PA efforts to develop its economy.

Masri discussed the closure with visiting Ontario Premier Michael Harris. Masri quoted Harris as saying a free-trade agreement will soon be signed with the PA.

## PA rejects incitement charges

By STEVE RODAN and MOHAMMED NAJIB

The Palestinian Authority yesterday rejected accusations made by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Sunday that it incites hatred against Israel and Jews.

But a PA official acknowledged that material used in PA-operated schools is poisoning the minds of Palestinian pupils.

The PA Information Ministry, in a statement broadcast several times on PA radio, accused the Netanyahu government of being responsible for inciting violence. The ministry said the government accuses the Palestinian media of spreading hate while ignoring the causes of the violence.

"The attempt to accuse the Palestinian media [of incitement] is a well-known attempt to escape from his [Netanyahu's] personal responsibility and that of his government regarding this violence," the statement said.

The statement accused the IDF of killing Palestinians on a daily basis. As a result, the PA statement said, the Palestinians have a right to defend themselves.

Moreover, the PA statement said, Israel continues its policies of confiscating land, constructing Jewish settlements and imposing closure on Palestinian cities and towns.

The PA official response to the Israeli charges, however, contrasted with that of a PA official.

Nizar Alqaq, of the official Palestinian National Authority web site, told Ami Isseroff, who runs an Internet-based Palestinian/Israeli discussion group, that the schoolbooks are harming any chance of Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation.

Isseroff referred to a study of Palestinian schoolbooks conducted by Itamar Marcus, Director of Research, Center For Monitoring The Impact Of Peace. The study, he said, showed the PA curriculum is "poisoning the minds of young people, and does not help the cause of the Palestinians in any way."

Isseroff pointed to PA schoolbooks used in fifth grade and above that term Jews as satanic.

Alqaq posted in reply: "We agree with your opinion on the literature used in Palestinian schools. However, the literature used in Israeli schools is also of a non-productive nature."



Firefighters douse water on the fire in Haifa's Danya quarter Sunday.

## HEAT

Continued from Page 1

Nine years ago, a huge fire destroyed thousands of dunams in the adjacent Carmel National Park. The fire on this occasion, however, did not remain in the confines of the forest and natural brush. More than 40 houses were damaged, including two that were completely gutted, as were several vehicles.

Scores of firemen, aided by light planes and IAF helicopters, fought for several hours to bring the fire under control. There was at one stage a problem with insufficient water supplies and lack of pressure.

Despite the problems, Moshe Reebak, commander of the Haifa District Fire Brigade, said

the efforts of the firefighters and the security forces had succeeded in saving lives and preventing even further damage to property.

Haifa Mayor Amram Mitzna spent most of the early hours of Sunday morning at the scene, arranging for emergency supplies of water to be brought to the area and for shelter to be found for those displaced.

"There are people here who have lost all their property and others whose homes have been badly damaged. After the fires have been extinguished there will be a lot of work to repair and renovate the Danya district — not just the private houses themselves, but also public areas and other places," said Mitzna.

He stressed that the infrastructure, including water supplies,

was one of the best anywhere.

"With such a huge blaze, however, and the use of dozens of fire engines and residents themselves operating irrigation and hoses, no system could cope with that," he said.

National Fire Brigade and Rescue Service Chief Moshe Vardi, who for years had commanded the Haifa district, was asked whether fire breaks and other preventive measures recommended in the wake of the Carmel blaze nine years ago could have helped.

Vardi noted that people had come to live in Danya because of the view of the of the tree-clad slopes leading down to the sea. "If you took away the forests, they would not come to live here," said Vardi.

Furthermore, fire breaks had

proved ineffective against wind-whipped flames that jump across roads and 100-meter gaps.

By 9 a.m. on Sunday the fire had been brought under control. Residents slowly returned in convoys of vehicles and on foot.

When some residents returned to their homes, they found that while their property had not been damaged, items had been stolen from their homes.

Police arrested a Nahariya man suspected of stealing cash, jewels and other items from houses whose residents had been evacuated. Police set up special patrols to prevent looting.

Fire experts said it appeared that the blaze started because picnickers on Mt. Carmel had not properly extinguished the charcoal from their grills.

## IDF: Wounded photographer took no precautions

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The IDF said yesterday that AFP news photographer Husam Abu Alan, who was shot in the head by a rubber bullet during rioting in Hebron on Thursday, had put himself in the line of fire and failed to wear any gear to identify him as a journalist.

The Foreign Press Association filed a complaint with the IDF over the shooting and called for "a thorough investigation and disciplinary action as warranted, along with a guarantee the army will take steps to ensure there is no indiscriminate shooting of journalists in the future."

Abu Alan was hit in the back of the head with a rubber bullet fired by an Israeli soldier and suffered a fractured skull. He was still hospitalized yesterday, Agence France Presse (AFP) said.

Brig-Gen. Oded Ben-Ami, the

IDF Spokesman, said that an inquiry found that Abu Alan had not taken necessary precautions.

Abu Alan had been among stone-throwing Palestinians and had worn neither a helmet nor a flak jacket "and thus he was not identified (as a journalist) by the soldiers," Ben-Ami said.

"Our policy is to allow journalists to do their work," he added.

In his letter to the FPA Ben-Ami wrote that there were inherent risks in covering violence in the territories.

"During such events, being violent as they are, there is always a chance that members of the media inside a rioting mob can be hit," Ben-Ami wrote, adding that "there is no intention whatsoever to hurt them."

AFP officials said that they do not believe that Abu Alan was deliberately targeted by the IDF but that they do not accept the IDF's version of events.

Journalists and photographers at the scene said there were many cameramen who did not wear flak jackets or helmets. They added that Abu Alan was carrying many cameras, clearly identifying him as a journalist.

They also deny that he had been among the stone-throwers. According to one witness, Abu Alan and two other journalists had huddled on the side of the street between the stone-throwers and the soldiers.

After soldiers shot and hit two Palestinians with rubber bullets, the photographers stepped out to take their picture. That was when Abu Alan was hit, the witness said. Another Palestinian was

## IDF to lift Hebron curfew, territories closure

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The IDF was expected last night to lift a two-week curfew imposed on the Israeli-controlled section of Hebron after a Yom Kippur grenade attack which injured 13 soldiers.

The closure imposed on the West Bank and Gaza Strip over the Succot holiday was also to be lifted at 2 a.m. this morning, the IDF said. Some 21,000 Palestinians have been given permits to enter Israel to work.

Channel 1 reported that Hebron was quiet over Simhat Torah due to orders from Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat to his people to reduce tensions in the days before his planned summit with President

Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at Wye Plantation in Maryland.

During a visit to Hebron on Sunday, Chief of General Staff Lt-Gen. Shaul Mofaz accused the PA and its police of failing to seriously pursue terrorists or prevent attacks.

He also called on the PA to do more to curb violence in Hebron. "We demand that the Palestinian Authority condemn the recent attacks and take actions to foil," them, Mofaz told reporters.

He said that every agreement which is not honored by one of the sides loses its value.

"The Palestinian Authority needs to adhere better to the agreements signed with us in

Hebron. To the best of our judgment and understanding, the Palestinian Authority is not keeping its part of the agreement, not when it comes to foiling (attacks), not in its daily actions and not in what it could do during an incident including pursuit and foiling further attacks," he said.

Mofaz, accompanied by OC Central Command Maj-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, Commander of IDF Forces in Judea and Samaria Brig-Gen. Yitzhak Eitan and Hebron Brigade Commander Col. Yigal Sharon, also met Jewish settler leaders.

Mofaz reportedly told them that the IDF is doing its utmost to protect the Israeli residents of Hebron.

## Sharon FM appointment goes to cabinet today

By DANNA HARMAN

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is expected to bring the appointment of Ariel Sharon as foreign minister to the cabinet for approval today.

Knesset speaker Dan Tichon will then announce Sharon's appointment in the plenum later this week or next week, but without it being brought for a vote.

Knesset legal experts confirmed Sunday that in accordance with the new election law, no vote is needed for the appointment to take effect.

Foreign Ministry staffers have been voicing cautious approval of the appointment, saying that they will be pleased to have a full-time minister at the helm.

Netanyahu has been acting as foreign minister

has himself admitted to not always having enough time for the job.

Ministry workers, in turn, have frequently complained that they were being left out of many of the more important negotiations and decisions that traditionally would have involved them.

It is yet unclear what changes Sharon plans for the ministry, and whether he will choose a new director-general in place of Eytan Bentsur, who is a Levy appointee.

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky, who has at times functioned as an unofficial foreign minister, especially in matters concerning the former Soviet Union, met Sunday with both Netanyahu and Sharon.

Sharansky said he was pleased with Sharon's appointment, but would continue helping in any



## Pope calls for Jewish saint's day to mark Holocaust

VATICAN CITY (AP) — Declaring Auschwitz martyr Edith Stein the first Jewish-born saint of the modern era, Pope John Paul II said Catholics should mark her saint's day as an annual commemoration of all the Holocaust's murdered Jews.

The pope on Sunday called Stein an "eminent daughter of Israel and a faithful daughter of the church."

"In the martyr, Sister Teresa Benedicta of the Cross, so many differences meet and are resolved in peace," John Paul, using the name Stein chose in the church, told the thousands filling St. Peter's Square for Sunday's canonization.

It was a ceremony filled with the Roman Catholic Church exerting all its ceremony, pomp, and grandeur in a tribute to a woman of Jewish heritage. Relatives of Holocaust victims — Stein's family — shared a dais with the leader of Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl. She was born into an Orthodox Jewish German family on Yom Kippur in 1891. An atheist, she joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1922 and later became a Carmelite nun.

In 1942, Adolf Hitler's regime ordered all the converts in the Netherlands shipped to Auschwitz to punish the Dutch bishops for speaking out against it.

Stein was offered a chance to escape deportation, the pope said, but turned it down.

"Why should I be excluded?" he quoted her as saying. "If I cannot share the fate of my brothers and sisters, my life is, in a certain way, destroyed."

Stein was in a chapel praying with nuns of her order when the Nazis came to arrest her. Her sister, who had followed her into Catholicism, was among the con-

verts deported. They were killed at Auschwitz on August 9.

"We remember all of them today with profound respect," said John Paul, whose voice stayed strong throughout the 2 1/2-hour ceremony.

"From now on, in celebrating the memory of our new saint, from year to year we also cannot forget the Shoah, which slowly worked at the elimination of a people, costing the lives of millions of Jewish brothers and sisters," he declared.

In Jerusalem, the Simon Wiesenthal Center protested Stein's canonization.

"She could in no way symbolize the Jewish martyrs of the Holocaust, because she chose to leave Judaism," said center official Ephraim Zuroff.

In naming Stein a saint, the church credits her with having performed a miracle: interceding almost a half-century after her death to save a toddler's life.

More than a decade ago, 2 1/2-year-old Teresa Benedicta McCarthy of Brockton, Massachusetts, swallowed an overdose of Tylenol and suffered such severe liver damage that she was put on a priority list for a transplant. Then, overnight, she recovered.

Benedicta's doctor called the recovery miraculous, and the church agreed — saying the only explanation was the prayers that the McCarthys and their friends offered to Stein.

In March, the Vatican issued a long-awaited statement of regret that Catholics did not say and do more to stop the Nazi persecution of Jews, but praised the conduct of wartime pope Pius XII, whom some accuse of failing to do enough.

## Jewish official: Vatican was told about the Holocaust in 1942

By DOUGLAS DAVIS

LONDON — The Vatican's role in World War II is facing fresh controversy with the revelation that its official 11-volume account of the period omits any reference to a warning Pope Pius XII received about the Holocaust in March 1942.

The discrepancy was revealed in the recently published memoirs of Gerhart Riegner, now 87, who once headed the World Jewish Council's office in Geneva.

In the memoirs, entitled *Ne Jamais Desespérer (Never Lose Hope)*, Riegner says that he warned the pope in a secret cable about the existence of the Nazi gas chambers and plans for the "final solution."

The cable was transmitted to the Vatican via the papal nuncio in Bern, Monsignor Philippe Bernardini, shortly after the Wannsee Conference in January 1942, when Nazi leaders met to finalize details for the extermination of European Jewry.

The authorized Vatican history, written by Jesuit priests with unlimited access to the Vatican's archive, contains Bernardini's cover message, proving that the cable was transmitted, but not the cable itself which contained an explicit warning of the impending Holocaust.

Riegner writes that the memorandum he transmitted to the pope was based on information from a Jewish source in Zurich who had been told by a leading German industrialist that the Nazis planned to kill four million Jews with prussic acid, a major component of Zyklon-B gas, which was used in

the gas chambers.

In his memoirs, Riegner notes that copies of his memorandum exist in various archives, "but very curiously they are not in the 11 volumes of diplomatic documents published by the Vatican."

"The omission of this memorandum," he writes, "is regrettable because it shows the Vatican had detailed information about the extent of anti-Jewish persecution relatively early, only about six weeks after the Wannsee conference," he said.

Riegner, who was appointed head of the World Jewish Council's Geneva office after fleeing his home in Nazi Germany, devoted himself to alerting the international community to the fate of the Jews under Nazi occupation.

By the time his cable had been sent, notes Riegner, the Nazis had already started rounding up Jews for deportation from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Similar operations had not yet been undertaken in France, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The Riegner memorandum appealed to the Vatican to intervene forcefully, particularly in countries where it exercised influence, such as Romania, Croatia and Slovakia (where the Nazi puppet-state was headed by a Catholic priest, Jozef Tiso).

Earlier this year, the Vatican issued a 10-page document expressing regret and "deep sorrow" for the actions of some Roman Catholics during the war, but it conspicuously failed to apologize for church leaders who did not denounce Hitler.

## Lithuanian doctors say Lileikis fit to testify

VILNIUS, Lithuania (AP) — A 91-year-old former Lithuanian security chief is fit to stand trial on genocide charges, a court-appointed panel of doctors said yesterday, but they warned that the stress of court proceedings could endanger his life.

The ruling leaves in doubt whether suspect Aleksandras Lileikis, a former US resident, will be brought to trial. Attempts to start proceedings against him on war crimes charges have repeatedly been delayed and many critics contend Lithuanian authorities are hoping Lileikis will die before a trial starts.

The trial was supposed to begin in mid-September, but Lileikis's legal team said he was too ill to appear in court.

Lithuanian law does not allow trial in absentia for medical reasons and the court ordered a panel of doctors to assess his health.

Lileikis was head of the security police in the Lithuanian capital during the 1941-44 Nazi occupation. He is charged with ordering

turning them over to a Nazi execution squad. About 90 percent of Lithuania's 240,000 Jews were killed during World War II.

"The current state of Lileikis's health does allow him to take part and testify in the trial, but any stress could lead to a health condition hazardous to his life," the doctors' panel said yesterday.

But the panel chairman, Henrikas Ulevicius, refused to be comment on whether the trial should go ahead, saying only that "the judge has to decide whether to bring Lileikis to the courtroom."

Lileikis's lawyer reacted angrily to the ruling. "I am deeply shocked by the news that physicians have allowed a subpoena to be issued," Algimantas Matuza said. "His health is getting worse every day."

Lileikis emigrated to the United States in 1955, and lived in Norwood, Massachusetts, where he worked for a Lithuanian publishing house.

He returned to Lithuania more than two years ago as the United States was undertaking efforts to revoke

## Progress in Turkey-Syria dispute

DAMASCUS (Reuters) — Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa arrived in Damascus from Ankara yesterday for more talks to try and defuse a crisis between the two neighboring countries, officials and diplomats said.

The last two weeks have brought Damascus and Ankara close to an armed conflict that many fear could spread through the region. Turkey has threatened to use force if Damascus does not expel Abdullah Ocalan, the man that has led a 14-year-old campaign for Kurdish autonomy in southeast Turkey.

Moussa immediately met his Syrian counterpart Farouq al-Shara at the airport. Moussa will brief Shara on the outcome of his talks in Turkey earlier yesterday with President Suleyman Demirel and Foreign Minister Ismail Cem, the sources said.

Cem told journalists after his talks with Moussa that Turkey saw progress and that the Egyptian minister had brought a positive message from Syria on Turkey's demands.

"The message conveyed (by Egypt) based on talks in Syria on the views we expressed indicate there is an effort on the Syrian side to meet the concerns we have raised. We regard this with positive interest and we are dwelling on it," Cem said.

"We have to be cautious with Syria," he added. "For us the implementation is important and the continuous implementation is the central issue."

Egyptian diplomats also described Moussa's talks in Turkey as "positive" and expressed hope that Cairo's diplomatic efforts would be crowned with success.

Over the weekend, Turkey maintained pressure on Damascus to stop what it calls Syria's support for the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).



Syrian Foreign Minister Farouq Shara (right) welcomes his Egyptian counterpart Amr Moussa at Damascus Airport yesterday. Moussa briefed Shara on his talks in Turkey. (Reuters)

Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, alluding to long-standing Syrian territorial claims said Turkey would "poke out the eyes" of those who covet its soil.

Defense Minister Ismet Sezgin added his own warnings in a speech yesterday at a university in Istanbul. "We've given Syria our warning," state-run Anatolian news agency cited him as saying. "We're taking every kind of precaution."

The *Hurriyet* newspaper, close to the security apparatus, said Turkish forces were planning to hold large scale war games next month involving up to 50,000 troops close to the Syrian border.

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# Zone resident hurt in shelling

By DAVID RUDGE

A resident of the security zone was seriously wounded during a sustained Hizbullah mortar bombardment on Rehah village Sunday afternoon.

The victim was evacuated by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam hospital.

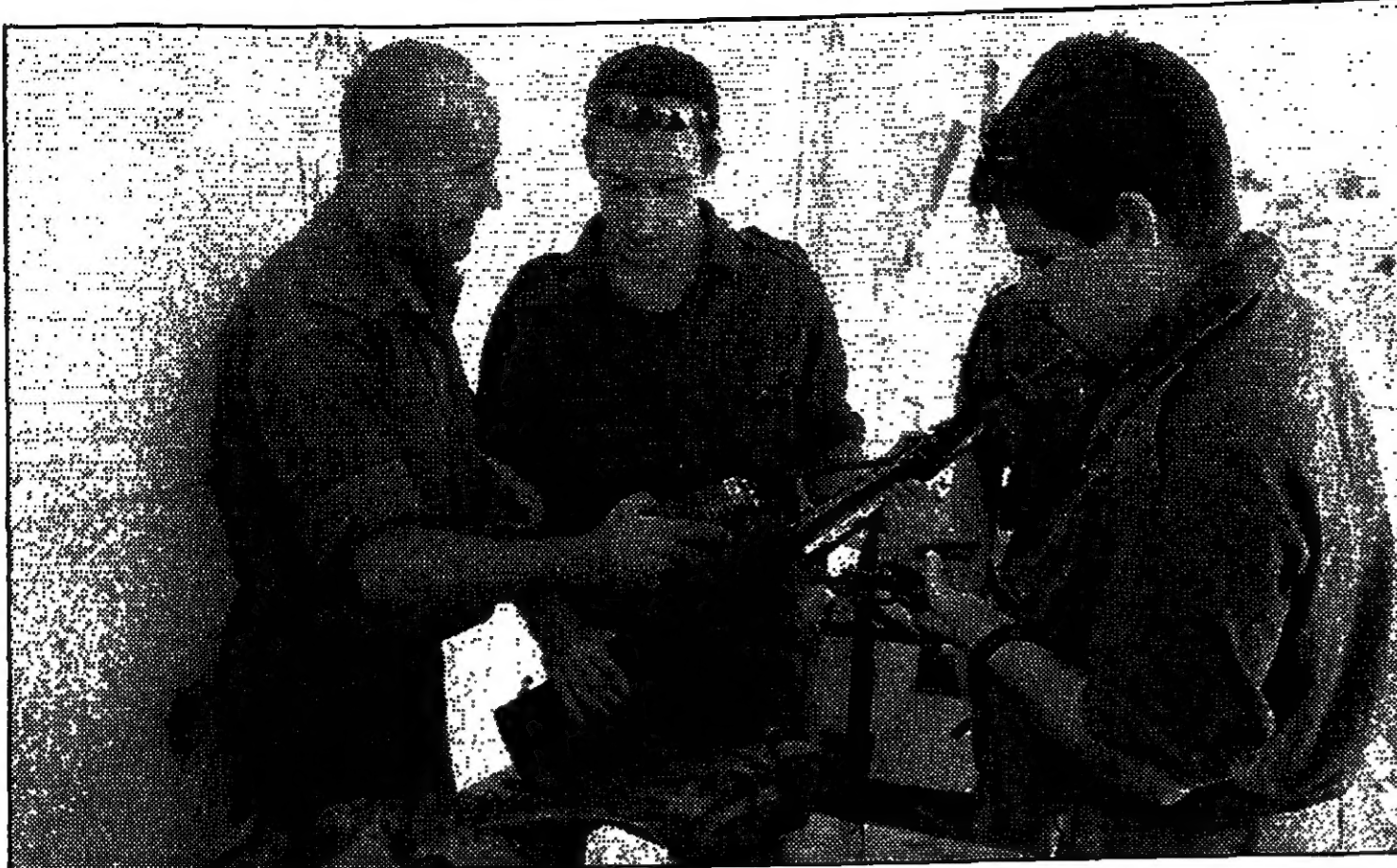
IDF gunners blasted the suspected origins of the shooting.

The Hizbullah bombardments followed a clash at the end of last week in which IDF troops killed two Hizbullah gunmen on a bomb-planting mission in the same district.

Brig-Gen. Erez Gerstein, the head of the IDF's Lebanese Liaison Unit, told reporters at a briefing on Sunday that the gunmen were spotted trying to infiltrate the zone between Kafir Haneh and Aramta, in the Rehah area. The IDF troops quickly laid an ambush and opened fire, killing both gunmen.

He said that it was clear from the explosive devices that the two-man squad was carrying that they had intended to carry out roadside bomb attacks against IDF or SLA troops in the zone.

He said that the protective armor on IDF vehicles used in the zone was generally good, although there was constant work to make improvements.



Soldiers on Sunday examine weapons captured from Hizbullah following the killing of two gunmen late last week. (Avitav Shapiro/Israel Sun)

# Orthodox parley seeks alternative leadership

By HERB KEINON

Some 150 modern Orthodox rabbis, academics, and public figures will begin a three-day conference today that organizers hope will create a "moderate Orthodox alternative to the current Israeli religious leadership."

The success of the conference, said Efraim Zuroff, one of its organizers, "will be judged ultimately by the ability to create a nucleus of modern Orthodox leaders to actively and openly promote modern Orthodoxy in the Israeli public arena."

The conference begins today at Kibbutz Ramat Rachel in Jerusalem, and will move tomorrow and Thursday to Kibbutz Lavi in the Galilee.

Zuroff said the conference is a reaction to the rightward turn the national religious camp has taken in recent years - not only on political issues, but on religious, social, and cultural ones as well. Zuroff, a member of the Israeli alumni of

Yeshiva University, one of the sponsors of the conference, said the parley is not about questions of land and peace.

"The political questions in the country will somehow be resolved, then the real questions will begin," he said.

Meimad is addressing some of those issues, but is far too identified with political issues, Zuroff said, while in his view the National Religious Party has veered far to the right on both political and religious and social issues.

In addition to the Israeli alumni of Yeshiva University, the other sponsors of the conference are Bar-Ilan University, Beit Morasha, and Hakibbutz Hada'at.

Among the speakers are rabbis Yehuda Amital, Aharon Lichtenstein, Shlomo Riskin, and Nahum Rabinovitch, Yeshiva University president Norman Lamm, Bar-Ilan University president Moshe Kaveh, professors Avi Ravitzky and Avi Sagi, and MK Alex Lubitzky.

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## Never clean enough

If the warplanes come, let them kill him and not us," a woman on a Belgrade street told a television crew at the weekend. "Him" is Slobodan Milosevic.

A British politician once referred to Milosevic as "that Balkan fellow with the slob in his name" and that pretty well sums up the international contempt in which the Serb leader and his armies are held.

The crimes perpetrated by Serbian forces since the breakup of Yugoslavia stand as unchallenged elements for a prima facie case against Milosevic as a war criminal — yet world policy-makers continue to base their schemes for peace in the Balkans on the premise of a role for Milosevic. Stability is the excuse, and there's precious little of that, thanks to Milosevic.

The world community still has no legal formula for removing the likes of a Saddam Hussein or a Milosevic when they become a threat to their neighbors, other than open warfare. (Even that failed to remove Saddam.) NATO successfully bombed the Bosnian Serbs to the Dayton peace conference, but managed to treat Milosevic like a statesman in the process — Mr. Ethnic Cleanser became "a vital element" in making Dayton work.

### Better DNA

The Serb concept of "ethnic cleansing" is no more than that old canard of racial purity, meaning the purity of "our race" (fill in the space after "our") at the expense of everyone else.

It was enough to make one despair of humanity when a former psychiatrist and a good one, apparently like the Bosnian Serb Radovan Karadzic could plunge down this bloody ethnic cleansing road. As a doctor, he would know from the most basic medical science that there is no such thing as racial purity, no "my DNA is better than yours." Yet in pig-headed ignorance and hatred, this doctor sunk to being one of the most wanted war criminals on earth.

Likewise Milosevic, through the agencies and forces under his control, unleashed a trail of atrocities across Croatia, Bosnia, and now Kosovo. Civilians and prisoners of war alike have been abused with Serbian rape, murder, expulsion, detention, torture, mutilation, forced labor, and wholesale destruction of property. And still he rolls on regardless. There are the sneering faces of Serbia's notorious police caught on camera in Kosovo, lying and denying that the village they have just left buried in ruins and blood and daubed with Serb obscenities was anything to do with them. "Terrorists," they say, waving vaguely at distant hills. Terrorists indeed, and in uniform.

### No guesswork

If the Western soft handling of Milosevic and his killers is contemptible, even more so is the

blind adherence by Russia to their age old friendship with the Serbs, brothers in Orthodoxy, come what may. Friendship has its limits when it comes to mass murder, rape, and pillage. Moscow's

determination to stand behind Milosevic whatever he does may come back to haunt Russians one day — maybe not as dramatically as did Stalin's pact with the German devil, but haunt it will.

For years everyone with the slightest knowledge of the region has predicted that the Serbs would next turn on Kosovo.

The reasoning is simple enough — the Serb leadership has a deep-seated hatred for the Muslim minorities in the region. As in Bosnia, ethnic cleansing is a vital life force for the fanatic racists who control former Yugoslavia.

But deduction based on mere guesswork was hardly necessary. It was all announced in advance. Take Miko Jovic, whose White Eagles group for years actively intimidated domestic opponents of Milosevic into silence. In 1990 he said in an interview: "We are interested only in a Serbia that is Christian, Orthodox, and clean, with no mosques or unbelievers."

Or there was Vojislav Seselj, leader of a similar Chetnik group. He announced in parliament in the same year: "You can be absolutely sure we are going to expel all you non-Serbs from Serbia."

### Nice and clean

Vuk Draskovic, who drafted the 1990 political plan for Milosevic's party wrote in it: "All those Shiptars [derogatory word for ethnic Albanians] must of necessity be guaranteed the freedom to emigrate to Albania or anywhere outside Serbia." Milan Paroski, a parliamentary deputy and parliamentarian leader, explained Serb policy more graphically to a Serb Army general. Timoslav Simovic: "The goal is not only to defend Serbianness, but to cleanse territory, to have an ethnically clean state." (Quoted in a deposition to the UN war crimes tribunal.) We can't say the Milosevic machine didn't issue clear statements of intent right at the beginning, eight years ago, long before the actual phrase "ethnic cleansing" made its grimy way into the English language.

And still today, the Milosevic machine grinds through Kosovo, "guaranteeing the necessity" of the inhabitants' freedom to emigrate to anywhere outside Serbia.

One can only wonder what the paradise of a "clean Serbia" is going to look like, peopled by all those clean-cut, unsullied, white Orthodox Serbian faces — probably much like any other fascist nationalist paradise.

The problem is, people obsessed for years with cleansing are never satisfied that things really are quite clean enough, are they Mr. Milosevic?

### Column One



Thomas O'Dwyer

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP) — As NATO positioned itself for airstrikes on Yugoslavia, US envoy Richard Holbrooke left for Brussels yesterday to brief NATO amid reports of progress toward a deal to avert military action over Kosovo.

Russian Defense Minister Igor Sergeev told reporters in Moscow that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic has agreed to allow deployment of 1,500 observers in the embattled Serb province — a move that would be a key concession by Yugoslavia.

There was no immediate confirmation, but a statement from Milosevic's office said Holbrooke would return to Belgrade and hold more talks today.

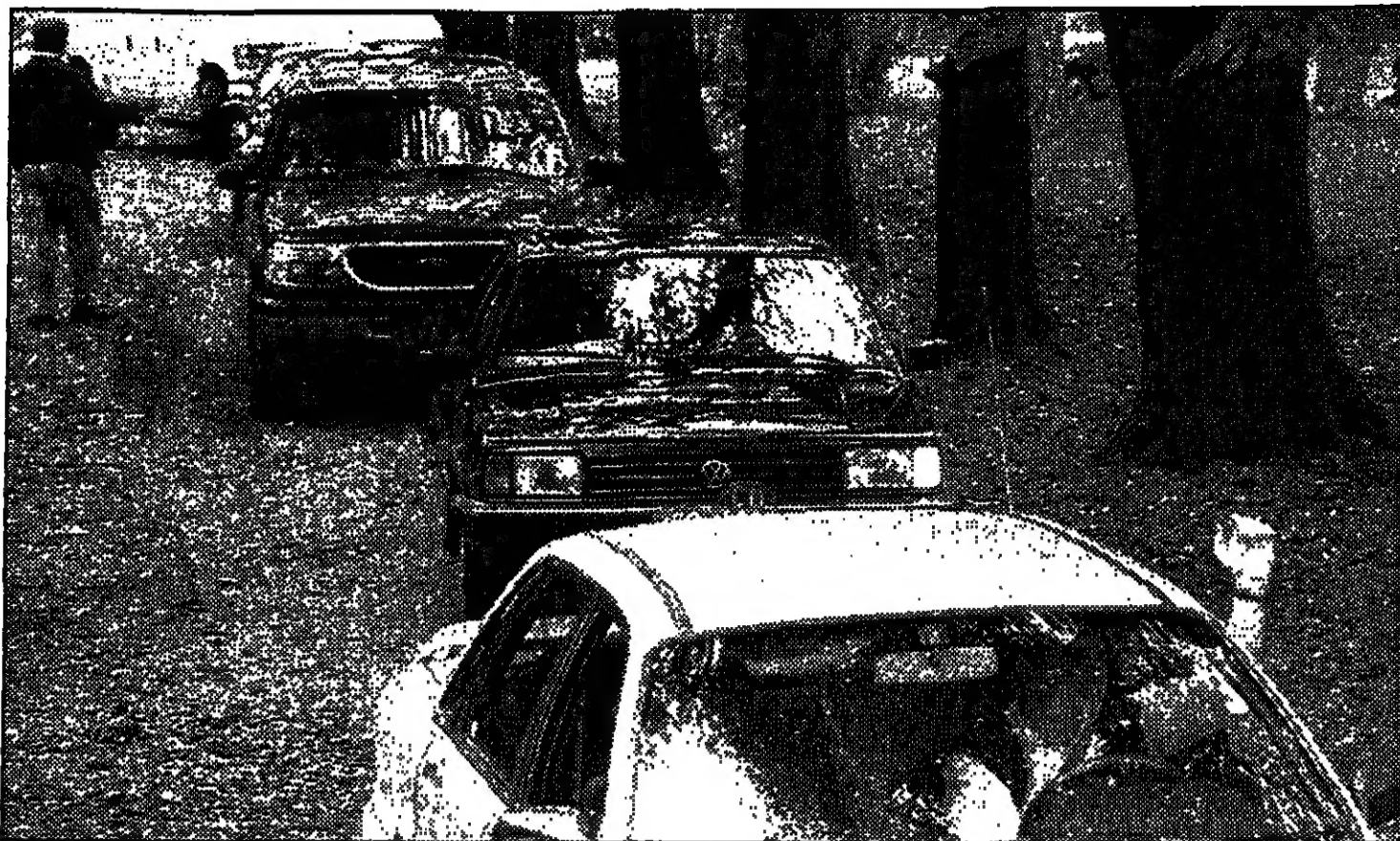
It said Milosevic "has concluded that undoubtedly, necessary conditions exist for a peaceful, political solution to the Kosovo problem."

After meeting yesterday with Milosevic, Holbrooke left for Brussels to brief ambassadors of the 16-member NATO on the results of his talks, a US source said. The source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, indicated Holbrooke had made enough progress that he needed to do the briefing personally.

The major obstacle in talks had appeared to be Holbrooke's request that Milosevic agree to an expanded international monitoring mission in the Serb province of Kosovo to verify compliance with demands of the UN Security Council.

Other Security Council demands include an immediate cease-fire, a withdrawal of special troops from Kosovo, letting refugees return home and beginning talks with

# NATO bombers prepare for air strikes in Kosovo



A US Embassy staffer waves as a convoy of vehicles leaves Belgrade yesterday. Most major Western embassies have been evacuating non-essential staff and dependents from Belgrade. (Reuters)

independence-minded ethnic Albanians on Kosovo's future. The Americans and Europeans want Milosevic to halt the crackdown he launched February 28

against the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army. Kosovo, where 90 percent of the population is ethnic Albanian, is a Serbian province in southern Yugoslavia.

Milosevic's crackdown on the KLA has killed hundreds and forced at least 270,000 ethnic Albanians to flee their homes. Should the talks between

Holbrooke and Milosevic fail, officials in Brussels were expected to vote on an "activation order" — the last military step before any NATO military strike can be launched.

## Hunt for Congo plane wreckage may become race

By ARTHUR MALU-MALU

KINSHASA (Reuters) — President Laurent Kabila's government tried yesterday to pinpoint the wreckage of a Congolese airliner shot down by rebels amid growing fears the rebels might try to get there first.

With the two sides offering conflicting versions of what happened and whether the 40 or so people on the downed Congolese Airlines Boeing 727 were soldiers or civilians, officials declined to say precisely where the search was taking place.

"All sorts of things are being said, but up until now no reliable source has said that the wreckage has been found," Transport Minister Henri Moya told Reuters. "A whole committee is busy cross-checking the information."

Moya said that the army, the aviation authority, and other officials were on the committee processing information from the jungle heart of the Democratic Republic of the Congo around Kindu, the government forward base in the east. The rebels say that the plane was

taking soldiers to Kindu on Saturday and that they had taken steps to ensure that no civilians were on board before they fired at it. The government says the plane was hit as it took off from Kindu with civilians, including women and children, on board.

Stavros Papiacannou, a director of Congolese Airlines, a private company, said the search was continuing. "Neither the wreckage nor black box (flight recorder) have been found. Access to the zone where the plane is thought to have come down is difficult."

He told Reuters that a report from villagers that the plane, which was apparently hit by a rebel missile, had crashed 39 km west of Kindu had not been confirmed.

The rebels, who took up arms against Kabila on August 2, have warned that any plane trying to approach Kindu risked being shot down.

The rebels control the major towns in the east of Africa's third largest nation and the third city of Kisangani in the jungle interior, to the north of Kindu.

## Gay Wyoming college student dies from beating

FORT COLLINS, Colo. (Reuters) — A University of Wyoming student, savagely beaten in an apparent hate crime because he was gay, died early yesterday, a Colorado hospital said.

Rufus Stacey, chief executive officer of the Poudre Valley Health System, told reporters Matthew Shepard, 21, died at 12:53 a.m. His family was at his bedside.

Shepard had been breathing with the aid of a ventilator since being found last Wednesday night, beaten and died for some 18 hours to a wooden fence where he was left to die just outside Laramie, Wyoming, a small college town.

He suffered a severe skull fracture and was burned in the attack. Police said the college student begged for his life.

Shepard was found by a passing motorist who at first thought that the figure on a fence post was a scarecrow.

His parents, Judy and Dennis Shepard, flew to Colorado from Saudi Arabia where the father works in the oil industry. Stacey said the parents were overwhelmed by the outpouring of support for their son.

Two men are in custody for the attack and their girlfriends, who allegedly provided them an alibi and helped hide bloody clothes, have been charged as accessories after the fact.

Police following the attack lodged attempted first-degree murder charges against the two men and said the charges could be upgraded.

The attack on Shepard, who reportedly lived an openly gay life, was condemned by President Bill Clinton and the governor of Wyoming as well as ordinary citizens who appeared at vigils in honor of the student.

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## Le Pen: Gas chambers only worth a few lines

BONN (AP) — French far-right leader Jean-Marie Le Pen said in an interview published Sunday that while he had never denied the existence of the Nazi gas chambers, "if you wrote the history of World War II on a thousand pages, the gas chambers would get a few lines at best."

In the interview with the German newsweekly *Der Spiegel*, he suggested that he will not attend an eventual trial in Germany for calling Nazi gas chambers "detail in the history of World War II." He made those remarks last year at a news conference in Munich.

Le Pen said he does not believe he will get a fair trial, claiming he was the victim of "a manipulation by the media, the judicial system and politicians."

The European Parliament has stripped Le Pen's immunity from prosecution so a German court can try him for his remarks.

"In general, I don't run away from anyone," Le Pen said in the interview. "But I also have little desire to follow orders dictated from abroad."

Munich prosecutors want to charge Le Pen under German laws making it a criminal offense to trivialize the Holocaust. He could face a maximum of five years in jail if convicted.

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Russian President Boris Yeltsin prepares yesterday to sign documents during a signing ceremony in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Yeltsin cut short a trip to Central Asia after coming down with a respiratory infection that again raised questions about his health. (AP)

## Doctors order Yeltsin home

By MARTIN NESIRKY

MOSCOW (Reuters) — President Boris Yeltsin's health and ability to run Russia were under scrutiny again yesterday after doctors ordered him to cut short his first foreign trip in half a year because of bronchitis and return to Moscow.

Seizing the moment, Russia's opposition Communist Party urged workers to stage new nationwide protests on November 7 to mirror demonstrations last week calling for Yeltsin to resign and for wage arrears to be paid.

"If all the people's demands are not fulfilled, Communists and patriots will summon workers to an even more determined action which will develop into an all-Russian political strike," Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov said in a statement.

Yeltsin, who is 67, was scheduled to fly back to Moscow yesterday evening from Kazakhstan, a day earlier than planned.

"He fell ill at the end of the week in Moscow. He insisted that the visit take place," Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Yakushkin told reporters in the Kazakh commu-

cial capital Almaty.

"Boris Nikolayevich was against cutting it short but the doctors said it would be better to return to Moscow," Interfax news agency quoted the chief Kremlin doctor as saying he had tracheo-bronchitis — an infectious disease caused by inflammation of the bronchial tubes and involving coughing and chest pains. His temperature was slightly above normal.

Yakushkin said there was no question of Yeltsin being taken to hospital. Doctors prescribed antibiotics and rest.

The president has a history of health problems, and underwent heart surgery two years ago. On Sunday, he nearly took a tumble during a welcoming ceremony in Uzbekistan.

Markets and Western nations anxiously monitor Yeltsin's health because of the power concentrated in his hands as president of the world's largest country and the second largest nuclear power. That concern is heightened now because of Russia's economic crisis and NATO-Russia tensions over Kosovo.

Russia said yesterday it had recalled its diplomatic and mil-

itary representatives from NATO headquarters in Brussels for consultations over the Serbian province.

On the home front, a Russian deputy finance minister said the International Monetary Fund might not arrive in Moscow until later this month to resume work assessing the country's plans.

Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov, confirmed in office a month ago, has yet to come up

with an economic program and has been reduced by the severity of Russia's crisis to asking the European Union for humanitarian aid — mainly food.

A government spokesman said the cabinet would consider the budget for the fourth quarter of 1998 early next week. The budget is seen as a benchmark for further financial aid.

Yeltsin says he intends to see out his term to 2000.

## Russia still has no details of food aid needs

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Russia has yet to complete a draft resolution on its response to the food crisis caused by the ruble devaluation and cannot comment officially on possible food needs, an Agriculture Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

However, local news agencies quoted Deputy Prime Minister Gennady Kulik, in overall charge of food and agriculture, as saying Russia had no intention of halting food imports.

Oleg Temyashov, press spokesman to agriculture minister Viktor Semyonov, said he could not give any details on what kind of aid Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov asked for during talks with European Commission President Jacques Santer last week.

"The important thing is that I have before me the draft resolution on measures for stabilizing the agro-industrial complex," he told Reuters.

## Cohen: US will contain Iraq as long as threats continue

By PATRICK WORSNIP

ADDERA RANGE, Kuwait (Reuters) — US Defense Secretary William Cohen travelled to within 30 miles of the Iraqi border yesterday and pledged to "contain" Iraq as long as it poses a threat to Gulf Arab nations.

Cohen made the promise in Kuwait, which was overrun by Iraqi forces in August 1990 before being liberated six months later by a US-led coalition of Western and Arab states.

After visiting US troops taking part in a desert exercise with Kuwaiti forces, Cohen told a news conference the presence of the Americans "demonstrates conclusively our commitment to Kuwait's security."

"We're going to continue to work with countries in the region to contain Iraq as long as Saddam Hussein threatens his neighbors," he said.

Many Arab states are now soft-pedalling the Iraqi threat. Of the six countries Cohen is visiting on a week-long tour, only Kuwait publicly voiced support for possible use of force in a standoff with Iraq over UN arms inspections in February.

In an address to the troops, Cohen expressed frustration that Arab public opinion tends to blame the West for sufferings experienced by ordinary Iraqis as a result of UN sanctions imposed on Baghdad after it invaded Kuwait.

"I know there's a strong sentiment within the Arab community — they look at the suffering of the Iraqi people and they don't really place the blame where it belongs. It belongs on Saddam Hussein," he said.

If Saddam met UN demands to get rid of his weapons of mass destruction, and accounted for

Kuwaitis missing from the Gulf War, the sanctions would come off, he said.

US diplomats acknowledged that this message has failed to get through. Much of the Arab public "doesn't entirely buy into the idea that Saddam Hussein, and not the international community, is responsible for Iraqi suffering," one said.

As on previous stops during his Gulf tour, Cohen avoided any suggestion that Washington is contemplating military action against Baghdad any time soon in the latest dispute over Iraq's decision to stop cooperating with UN arms inspectors.

Cohen insisted that this is an issue between Iraq and the United Nations and said he hopes it could be resolved diplomatically.

The US troops Cohen greeted were among some 1,200 taking part in a joint exercise with Kuwaiti forces codenamed Intrinsic Action, which has been going on periodically since 1993 to deter Iraq from any thought of a new invasion.

Cohen responded cautiously when asked by reporters about the Arab response to his proposal for common missile defense systems to protect Arabian Peninsula states from a possible ballistic missile threat from Iraq or Iran.

The Pentagon is proposing that Gulf states, most of them suffering from an oil-price slump, should either contribute to research costs or acquire such a system when it is developed by the United States in several years' time.

"Everyone in the Gulf understands what is taking place, and they will follow it and we will work with them... It's been very general so far and the response, I think, has been quite positive," he said.

## Schroeder names key ministers

By ANDREW GRAY

BONN (Reuters) — Germany's Chancellor-elect Gerhard Schröder said yesterday that Oskar Lafontaine and Rudolf Scharping, two senior officials in his Social Democratic Party (SPD), would take on key ministerial posts in his government.

Aiming to end a bitter power struggle in the party, Schröder named Lafontaine, the SPD chairman, as finance minister and said Scharping would give up his job as leader of the SPD group in parliament to become defense minister.

Franz Muensterfer, the party general manager who masterminded the SPD's victory over Helmut Kohl's conservatives in last month's general election, will also join the cabinet but his post has not yet been decided, Schröder said.

"We need a concentration of our best powers and people, our men and women, in the cabinet to make clear that we want to steer a strong course in the face of a difficult international and economic situation," Schröder told reporters.

Schröder, 54, had previously insisted he would only announce his ministerial team after he had completed talks on forming a coalition government with the ecologist Greens.

But he was forced to act after wrangling over government jobs threatened to overshadow the talks.

Scharping had made clear he wanted to continue as parliamentary chief, a key job which provides the link between the government and its members of parliament.

But Lafontaine and Schröder were widely reported to be wary of Scharping. The mild-mannered

50-year-old lost the SPD leadership to Lafontaine three years ago in a party coup backed by Schröder.

The Lafontaine-Schröder axis wanted to install Muensterfer as parliamentary chief, but Scharping refused to budge, prompting speculation that Lafontaine would claim the post himself, just to get his former rival out of the way.

In the end Schröder decided to solve the problem by inviting all three men to join the cabinet.

Scharping agreed on condition that the defense budget was shielded from major cuts and that the structure of the forces would not be altered before a major review was carried out.

Anxious to avoid further public feuding, Schröder and Lafontaine said they would not reveal their preferred candidate to lead the parliamentary party.

Schröder also consulted outgoing Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday over the Kosovo crisis.

The old government, still in office in a caretaker capacity, approved the NATO activation order which authorizes military force if Yugoslavia fails to comply with United Nations demands that it pull its forces out of the southern Serbian province.

Ahead of yesterday's coalition talks, which focused on foreign policy and defense, both Greens and SPD were keen to stress they have much in common.

But a special session of parliament on Friday to approve German participation in any NATO military action against Yugoslavia could put their solidarity to the test. The Greens have strong reservations about the legal basis of any such action.

## Congress seeks time to deal with budget

By VICKI ALLEN

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — Democrats and Republicans said yesterday that hard bargaining remained on a long-term spending plan to avoid a federal shutdown, as they prepared a stopgap measure to run the government for two more days.

House and Senate Appropriations Committee leaders said Congress would send the White House a bill to fund the government through tomorrow while negotiations continued with the White House to try to settle the budget dispute.

Left on the table were nearly 20 policy issues including education, the year 2000 census, abortion and the environment.

The current temporary measure — the second that has been used to keep money flowing to federal agencies since the Oct. 1 start of the fiscal year — was set to expire last night.

Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Ted Stevens and his House counterpart Bob Livingston of Louisiana said they had a draft of a long-term spending bill. But the two Republicans said many policy issues still had to be resolved.

"We have the basis for a (omnibus spending) bill right now if we get the agreements settled," Stevens of Alaska said.

"It's a bill that we can present, but that doesn't mean it can't be changed," Stevens said he hoped the bill would be presented to the White House today, and for Congress to vote on the package tomorrow.

## Discoverers of Viagra principle win Nobel Prize for Medicine

By JONATHAN LYNN

STOCKHOLM (Reuters) — Three US scientists whose discoveries led to the use of the Viagra anti-impotence drug won the 1998 Nobel Prize for Medicine yesterday.

Robert Furchgott, Ferid Murad and Louis Ignarro were awarded the 7.6 million crown (\$955,500) prize jointly for their discoveries about the role of nitric oxide — long considered just an air pollutant — as a signalling molecule in the cardiovascular system.

The discovery has applications for the treatment of cardiovascular disease, shock and possibly cancer, as well as impotence, said Sweden's Karolinska Institute, which awards the annual prize, one of the most prestigious in medicine.

Joint winner Furchgott, 82, said in New York he was "somewhat surprised" and had no plans yet on what to do with his share of the prize money.

"I've got too many phone calls coming in, I want to finish my



Dr. Robert F. Furchgott (AP)

breakfast," he said from his home in Hewlett, New York.

Furchgott, a pharmacologist at the State University of New York (SUNY) in Brooklyn, established in 1980 that blood vessels dilate, or become wider, because their surface cells — the endothelium — produce an unknown signal mol-

ecule that makes their smooth muscle cells relax.

Furchgott's "ingenious experiment" led to a quest to identify the factor, the institute said.

Murad, 62, now a pharmacologist at the University of Texas Medical School in Houston, analyzed how nitroglycerin and similar substances affect vessels, and discovered in 1977 that they release nitric oxide, which relaxes smooth muscle cells.

Ignarro, 57, and now a pharmacologist at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) School of Medicine, participated in the quest for the unknown signal molecule posited by Furchgott, and in a brilliant series of analyses, concluded it was nitric oxide.

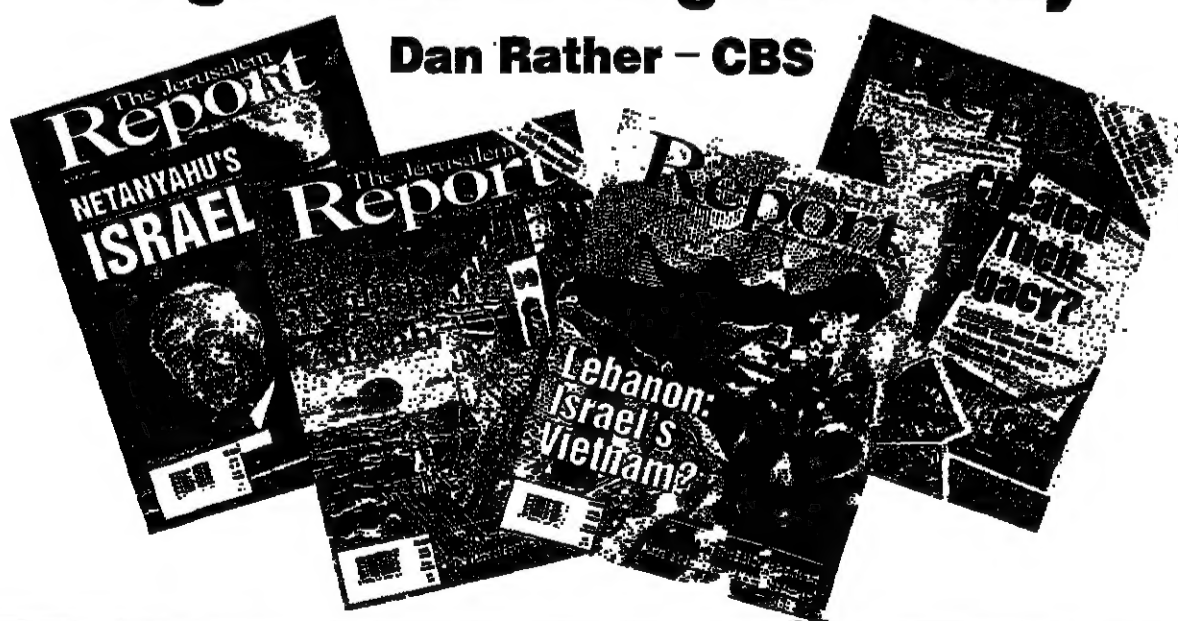
"He (Ignarro) discovered the principle which led to the use of Viagra as an anti-impotence drug," Sten Orrenius, professor of toxicology at the Karolinska Institute, said.

Viagra counters impotence by dilating the blood vessels in the penis.

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## Britain's 'saviors of rock'

IN TUNE

By DAVID BRINN

The gap between British and American rock aesthetics continues to be wide as the Atlantic. For every act like Radiohead and The Verve that make slight inroads on the alternative tag, more mainstream bands like Oasis and Blur - huge heroes in their homeland - can barely buy a cuppa tea stateside. Which brings us to Manic Street Preachers, a quintessential British creation which on *This Is My Truth Tell Me Yours* simply does not translate well into American English. But the British press has anointed them as the saviors of rock, due to their previous four releases.

**THIS IS MY TRUTH TELL ME YOURS**  
Manic Street Preachers (NMC)

**VOICES FROM THE WORLD 2**  
Various Artists (NMC)

**THE MASK OF ZORRO**  
Soundtrack  
Various Artists (NMC)

An anachronistic throwback to the 1970s progressive rock era, the trio has delusions of fusing Yes and Supertramp with their own punk upbringing. Singer James Dean Bradfield even sounds a little like Jon Anderson's high zone warbling. And the song titles! One would have thought that punk would have put a swift end to pomposity like "If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next." Given those criticisms, the band is full of talent, Beatlesque tinged and snappy melodic anthems.

"My Little Empire," with its niggling Elvis Costello hook and melody, shows what these guys are capable of when they back off from trying to make the "big" statement. *This Is My Truth Tell Me Yours* should reinforce the band's status in England, but American audiences will likely still be scratching their heads as they queue up for Manic Street Preachers' new REM disc.

FOLLOWING the unexpected success of the world music compilation *Music From the World*, NMC has put together another lavish, 16-track collection of pristine pieces from around the globe. Including perennial Madras and Deep Forest, who have become cult stars here, *Voices* ventures out from strictly navel-gazing territory to include some Middle Eastern soul from Israeli Arab Amal Murkus and media sensation Suzy, and throws in a teatime from Gipsy Kings and a tribal stomp from Robbie Robertson and his new Native American band. You get a well-rounded global tour that will have you dusting off the maps.

*The Mask of Zorro* harks back to the soundtracks of old, which featured exclusively orchestrated instrumental music scored especially for a movie.

James Homer is the composer and conductor here, and he does an admirable job of re-creating those scenes, fencing lessons and tomadoces.

So why ruin what is essentially a valid classical-music disc with one more overwrought tear-jerker that has become de rigueur lately for every action movie. The guilty party here is "I Want to Spend My Lifetime Loving You," and believe me, singer Tina Arena is no Celine Dion. Maybe it's those little flamenco flourishes which producer Jim Steinman (of Meatloaf fame) bullies obtrusively into the heart of the song, but Arena and duet partner Marc Anthony, himself fresh off the fiasco of Paul Simon's Broadway debacle *Capetown*, don't stand a chance with this dead horse.

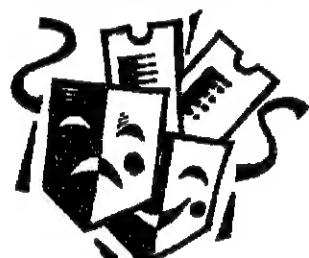
Homer hits his target chronicling Zorro's adventures and creates stimulating and vibrant background music, but is pierced through the heart by the wretched theme song. Well, two out of three ain't bad.



Moshe Beker (right) leads with a cruelly contorted, het-up caricature of the Cracow actor Josef Tura.

## Lubitsch on the local stage: A melodramatic muddle

Theater Review



By Naomi Doudai

There has to be a good reason for any Israeli theater to stage, in 1998, the first theatrical adaptation of the classic 1941 Ernst Lubitsch film (later remade by Mel Brooks) - a comedy about a troupe of Polish actors

TO BE OR NOT BE

(Lubitsch o lo Uhiyot)  
By Avi Milstein & Roni Pinkowitch  
(Based on a screenplay by Melchior Lengyel)  
Haifa Municipal Theater

that travesties the Nazi conquest of their country.

The program blurb brags that it is "the realization of the author's spiritual will," a fulfillment of his dream to have his filmed work hit the boards.

It further pretends to be "...a dangerous espionage affair ending in a daring heroic act. The entire theater is involved in the mix-up... a song of praise to the theater, the artistic freedom and the joy of life as opposed to the atrocities of the

conquest and the attempt to depress the human spirit."

Out of all these high-sounding phrases, "mix-up" seems the only one that fits the present production. With his frantic, highly-far-fied direction, Roni Pinkowitch has falsified the promised song of praise. The innate comedy is a forced - though by no means forceful - exhibition of far-fetched, overburdened burlesque.

Pinkowitch has his performers wound up like a set of clockwork

toys, expending an overdose of dramatic energy that explodes in a series of exaggerated antics. Moshe Beker leads with a cruelly contorted caricature of Josef Tura, the Cracow actor. (Those who remember his superb, contained performance in Yossi Yizraeli's version of Agnon's *Sipur Pashut* will suffer to see him in this role.) His fellow players have no alternative than to join in the dance and clown in sync with the prevailing choreography.

Maya Maoz, however, does her best to salvage the melodramatic muddle as a credibly heroic leading lady. She is joined in her salutary efforts by Dror Hershenson, whose striking and original sets give some serious substance to an otherwise puzzling production.

## Symphonette leads new orchestral season



Concert Roundup

on a new season and determine how it has changed, if at all. The way four of the major local orchestras opened their season was not surprising at all, quite the contrary. The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, The Israel Chamber

minutes of music by Yosef Bardanashvili. The orchestra played a wide selection of Bardanashvili's music - ranging from selections written for the play *The Dybbuk* to more deep and captivating music for flute, harpsichord and percussion. Bardanashvili's *Children of God*, a poetic plea for eternal peace, was enhanced by the amplified voice of countertenor David De'or that melded beautifully with the sweeping sound of the orchestra.

The highlight of the evening was the premiere of the composer's new piano concerto, *Concerto Quasi Fantasia*, which was performed in a most inspiring manner by Victor Derevianko. This is one of Bardanashvili's most captivating, beguiling and penetrating compositions. It is a work anchored in contrasts: serene and stormy, sweet tones against powerful orchestral outbursts, simple yet intricate, extrovert and introvert at the same time.

The ICO opened its season in much the same way it ended last season - playing a very boring concert in the most unbecoming way. What is the point of commissioning a very touching and poignant new opus from Oded Zehavi if the orchestra plays it in a harsh, destructive way? Even under the baton of new music director Salvador Mas Conde, the ICO is playing very badly. The presentation is loud, obtrusive, bland and boring. Even Haydn (from the orchestra's major repertoire where it should really excel) was played in such an awful way it was embarrassing.

Mas Conde should understand that playing loud has no meaning

in itself. But subtlety is as remote from him as it is from his orchestra.

The Gulbenkian chorus from Lisbon was excellent but could not salvage the concert. If someone does not shake up the ICO soon, the orchestra will vanish into oblivion in the very near future.

Zubin Mehta, on the other hand, is a music director who knows both his orchestra and his music very well. Mehta led the IPO in a powerful, exciting and tantalizing reading of Mahler's Fifth Symphony. And even though the performance was not foolproof, the overall power of the presentation was immense.

Sarah Chang, who played the Sibelius Violin Concerto, presented a technical tour de force which was also far from emotional. After struggling with Bach in a very academic presentation which alienated the audience, music director Avner Biron led his Israel Camerata Jerusalem in style and panache - performing two orchestral motets by Vivaldi with fiery soprano Lorna Anderson as soloist. There is no doubt that the Camerata is at its very best when performing baroque music.

Michael Aizenstadt

cello, at the Brigham Young University Jerusalem Center.

The program's highlight was Clara Schumann's Trio op. 17. Usually thought of as Robert's wife, Mrs. Schumann's work shows that she was a highly attractive and original musical personality in her own right.

Intensely emotional and sensitive, yet restrained, the second movement is a rare instance of a

schwartz with a wistful, sad smile. The concluding allegretto, likewise, expresses sincere feeling with a touch of resignation. Attempts to find influences of her famous husband appear futile.

The usually much neglected Haydn Trios were represented by his No. 21. The instruments blended admirably, achieving an enjoyable balance and a delightfully soft touch. The finale was tossed off with appropriate sparkle.

Schubert's rarely performed Nocturne op. 148 also turned out to be a veritable gem.

A soloist contribution to the program was Israeli's rendition of Schubert's Impromptu op. 90/2.

Ury Eppstein

## Universal brings Frankenstein back to life

By PATRICK GOLDSTEIN

Boris Karloff made him a monster-movie star. Elsa Lanchester was his bride. He has co-starred with Gene Wilder, the Wolf Man and Dracula, not to mention Abbott and Costello. He's been played by everyone from Bela Lugosi to Robert De Niro.

Of course, he is Frankenstein's monster, the granddaddy of Hollywood creatures. Nearly 70 years after his first sound film, he is coming back to life, this time as the star of a computer-generated feature film slated for release by Universal Pictures on Halloween 2000.

The monster's comeback was sparked by a 17-second test film created earlier this year by Industrial Light & Magic, the respected visual-effects company known for its work on *Jurassic Park*, *Men in Black* and the *Star Wars* series.

The computer-generated footage shows a Shaquille O'Neal-sized hulk lumbering downstairs into his lair, the floor thudding with each step as if his legs were veined with concrete. Suddenly a door flies open, piercing the room with a shaft of light.

Surprised, the giant turns toward us, the light illuminating the familiar scars on his hairline and the bolt in his neck. But what impressed Universal Pictures Chairman Casey Silver about the footage was the vulnerable look in the Frankenstein monster's eyes. They were the eyes of a real man, not something created on a computer keyboard.

"When I saw that test, I knew the time was right to see Frankenstein again," Silver says. "Seeing him walk, with that face and those eyes, he had the timeless feel of something old and new, like a cross between a classic '59 Cadillac and a stylish new car."

Shrouded in secrecy until now, the film represents Universal's first full-scale foray into Hollywood's increasingly crowded field of computer-generated films, where a movie's visual elements are all created digitally in a computer.

Budgeted at roughly \$80 million, "The Frankenstein CG Project," as it is currently known, marks the first creative partnership between ILM and a Hollywood studio. The relationship, similar to the one between Pixar and Disney on *A Bug's Life*, gives ILM its first start-to-finish involvement in a computer-generated film.

And at a time when Universal has been mired in a prolonged box-office slump, it gives the studio an opportunity to launch a new big-screen franchise.

"Movies like *Lost World* and *Babe* (both Universal films) have proved that you can make dinosaurs run and pigs talk," Silver said. "It's always a crapshoot, but we think that by using new technology and great storytelling technique we can reintroduce the characters that put our studio on the map 60 years ago."

To use the current Hollywood parlance, Universal is "refreshing the library." For years, studios have looked enviously at Disney films, which boosted profits by carefully re-releasing its venerable library of animation classics. More recently, Disney set the pace by reinventing *101 Dalmatians* in 1996 as a live-action film and creating a new franchise with *Toy Story*, the first entirely computer-generated ani-

mated film.

The films offered an attractive financial model, since the studio didn't have to share its take with back-end participants, as it often does with big-star live-action films. They also presented an instant synergy opportunity, since most computer-generated film subjects are natural spinoffs for video games, TV shows and theme park attractions.

Now Disney's rivals are hoping to expand the new computer-animation universe.

"DreamWorks, which just released *Anat*, has several other projects in the works that use computer animation, including *Prince of Egypt* and *El Dorado*."

"Sony is making *Shrek*, a film version of the popular children's tale that will blend live action and computer animation."

"New Line is making a three-film series of *Lord of the Rings* that will use extensive computer effects."

"Disney is busy making more computer-generated films, including *Toy Story 2* and an action-adventure saga called *Expedition*. Eager to get into the game, Universal recently launched an Animation and Visual Effects division designed to create new computer-generated projects."

"When you look at the economics of the movie business, Disney has always had a leg up because of its animation library," Silver says. "We felt it would be tough to compete with Disney in the animation business, but with computer-generated movies it's more of a level playing field."

As it turned out, Universal had a great card to play - its gallery of monster movies. In addition to Frankenstein, Universal's library includes such characters as the Mummy (due for release next year as a live-action feature with computer effects), the Wolf Man (who will co-star in the Frankenstein film), the Bride of Frankenstein, Dracula and the Creature From the Black Lagoon.

Although *Frankenstein* isn't due in the theaters for two years, the film is already being created in a bank of computers at ILM's headquarters in San Rafael, Calif. It's a sign of the complex nature of the project that it is being overseen by two directors, longtime ILM visual effects supervisor Dave Carson and Brent Maddock, a veteran screenwriter (*The Wild, Wild West*) who co-wrote the *Frankenstein* script with writing partner S.S. Wilson.

The project came about after Universal approached ILM with a list of films from its library. ILM and Carson were especially enthusiastic about re-creating *Frankenstein*, using state-of-the-art technology but remaining faithful to the original 1931 James Whale film's classic design. Silver sought out Maddock and Wilson, who'd written *Tremors*, a 1990 film whose blend of horror and humor seemed appropriate for an updated *Frankenstein*.

Noted Maddock: "We're using computer technology to re-create the original Jack Pierce makeup and the Boris Karloff profile and have the monster look the way he ought to look. It's a computer-graphic movie, but it's not about ants or toys. It's about a real human being." Can computer animation transform Frankenstein into an icon for the new millennium? It's no sure bet.

(Los Angeles Times)

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The Libi Fund offers grateful thanks to all who contributed to the success of the event - JERUSALEM SALUTES LIBI AND HONORS COMPOSER NURIT HIRSCH which took place at the Jerusalem Theater on October 8:

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## OPINION

# Rich beat the poor

YOSEF GOELL

The attention of many of us, quite understandably, has been riveted during the past week or so on the plunge in the value of the shekel in comparison to the US dollar and other foreign currencies. A smaller number of us continue to be transfixed by the parallel plunge on the stock markets, with some focusing on Tel Aviv and others monitoring Wall Street.

As serious as these developments may be for the future of our economy, there are other economic trends which are of even greater import to the life of the average Israeli.

I would like to call attention to the recently published, "boring" annual report of the State Revenue Administration, which once again confirmed a trend that has been reported and ignored every year for the past two decades. During this period, in which Israel has become one of the 20 most affluent economies of the world, we have also been transformed from the most egalitarian among the developed countries with regard to distribution of income, to the most unequalitarian among them.

According to the report, the average income before taxes of the top 10 percent of the population is 48 times higher than the average income of the bottom 10%. After the corrective influence of taxes, this gap is reduced to 30 to 1.

It is worth recalling that the Netanyahu-Neeman government is now preparing an income tax "reform" that would drastically reduce tax rates at the top. The large proportion of Israelis in the bottom deciles are so poor that they pay no income taxes at all and will therefore not benefit from that proposed reform.

These gaps are the largest in the modern world. It should be added that the top 20% of earners - no longer just the very rich - account

for 50% of the total national income after the corrective effect of taxes, compared to a mere 3.4% of income which goes to the bottom 20%.

THIS major metamorphosis in such a crucial aspect of our society began in 1976, the year before the first political upheaval which brought the Likud to power for the first time. Despite Menachem Begin's talk of "doing well by the people," we know today that the financial benevolence of his and the Likud's subsequent governments was directed primarily to the richest among us. Fairness, however, requires noting that the macro-economic policies of the Rabin-Peres government also favored the rich and expanded income gaps to the maximum. Case in point: Yitzhak Rabin's last-minute vetoing of the bill to tax capital gains, at the behest of his industrialist and banking cronies.

The real situation is much worse, for not everything is merely a matter of income. Public services, such as education and health care, have had their budgets cut to the bone. (Here, fairness demands noting that irresponsible slashing of education, health and other welfare budgets took place during the Likud's tenures. When Rabin and Labor returned to power they restored billions in shekels to education.)

One of the most serious aspects of the momentous world economic events is that they have generated the silliest statements imaginable from our own economic leaders.

Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman, for example, sought to soothe us from the ivory towers of International Monetary Fund in Washington D.C., saying that the dollar is merely a commodity like any other, and there is therefore no reason for the government to



"I'll need all the help I can get, coach!"

interfere with the rates of exchange. This, at a time when the economic authorities of nearly every other "free market" economy, led by the US Federal Reserve, which reportedly intervened to shore up the dollar against the Japanese yen, have been intervening.

The last time we heard unabashed talk like that was from President Herbert Hoover explaining why the US government should not intervene directly in the economy at the height of the Great Depression.

There is an urgent need for Bank of Israel to take a much more active role in dealing with the crisis in the rates of exchange. There is an even more urgent need for Treasury corrections to protect the

average Israeli from the ravages of an uncontrolled free-market globalized economy.

Two of the most urgent areas that come to mind are:

- The prices of imported medicines will be going up astronomically. If the neediest and sickest among us are to be protected, the government must increase its subsidies to the health funds; to offset those soaring costs.

- Rents, and the price of new apartments, which have historically been linked to the dollar, will be going up sharply. The main victims will be young couples and new immigrants. What is needed here is urgent legislation, abolishing all such linkages to the dollar in all housing purchase and rental contracts.

## Rising to the occasion

Like the phoenix of ancient mythology, there are in every nation individuals who, despite adversity and scandal seemingly ending their careers, again and again manage to rise to key public positions, for better or worse affecting the national destiny. Our local version of this phenomenon is Ariel Sharon, who as of this morning is the country's foreign minister. He now has another chance to prove whether he can lead towards peace in addition to war.

Sharon's political epitaph has been written so often it is difficult to list all the times that conventional wisdom held he had come to the end of the road. The most prominent of them was the pronouncement of the Kahan Commission, which 16 years ago investigated the responsibility of the security forces in permitting the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon at the hands of the Christian Phalangists. As a result of the commission's report, Sharon was forced to resign as defense minister. Few at the time, at what was perhaps the lowest point in his public life, expected that one day he would return to as senior a position as foreign minister, which given Israel's existential military and diplomatic struggles is regarded as the most pivotal ministry in the government after the Prime Minister's Office and the Defense Ministry.

Even long before that, Sharon's record had been a highly checkered one. As a paratrooper and commander of the famous 101st Regiment, charged with carrying out the retaliatory raids in neighboring countries in the 1950s, Sharon gained national prominence as a hero when he was still in his twenties. At the same time, during his climb up the military ranks he developed a reputation for insubordination and misrepresentation in reports to superiors. This dual image of a hero who knows how to get things done, yet is at the same time duplicitous and not completely trustworthy, has dogged him all his life. It surfaced again during the Yom Kippur War in 1973, when fellow generals accused him of flouting orders at mounting a counterattack against the Egyptians in the Sinai by refusing orders and falsely reporting developments in the field to the General Staff. At the same time, he is popularly remembered as being a major hero in that war, leading the first Israeli forces across the Suez Canal and surrounding the Egyptian Third Army. Similarly, Sharon as defense minister in 1982 oversaw a strong IDF push in Lebanon all the way to Beirut, yet left an enduring image from that war as having manipulated and misled the government and then-prime minister Menachem Begin.

With that record in mind, it is perhaps understandable why Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu was wary of granting Sharon a major portfolio when he composed his government two years ago, even without taking into account

the personal animosity between the two men and Sharon's barely concealed contempt for what he perceives as Netanyahu's lack of leadership ability. Ironically, the man who did more than anyone else to force Netanyahu to grant Sharon a serious portfolio in the form of the National Infrastructure Ministry, David Levy, is now out of the government, having resigned as foreign minister 10 months ago, thus opening the way for Sharon to replace him in the Foreign Ministry.

For Netanyahu to now entrust the extremely sensitive job of foreign minister to Ariel Sharon, after all that has gone between them, is surprising to say the least. Questions can also be posed as to the political wisdom of appointing as foreign minister an individual who voted against the Netanyahu government's most prominent foreign policy initiative to date, the Hebron Agreement. Nor can the fact that Sharon has repeatedly stated he will vociferously oppose any agreement on a further withdrawal of 13% in the West Bank be ignored, with the upcoming Wye Plantation summit to focus precisely on that issue.

Netanyahu is obviously strengthening his right flank, as the moments of decision on further redeployment and the beginning of negotiations on permanent status draw near. The fact that any further agreements arrived at with the Palestinians will be squarely the responsibility of Sharon gives Netanyahu a firmer insurance policy for maintaining his coalition in the face of compromises than he has ever had before. Sharon's reputation on the Right as a firm defender of Israel's strategic and national interests will be sure to give many right-wingers reason to pause before attacking agreements personally negotiated by one of their own. Indeed, many recall that it was Sharon who managed to evacuate Israeli settlements in the Sinai, a task a politician with less sterling credentials on the Right would have found difficult, if not impossible.

The question now is what side of Sharon will we see in his new position as foreign minister. Will it be the pragmatic Sharon, who negotiated a surprisingly generous water-sharing agreement with Jordan and has developed good personal relations with Palestinian leaders such as Mahmoud Abbas and Ahmed Qurei? Or will the stubborn right-wing nay-sayer in his personality emerge, scotching all proposed compromises and thus killing off any possible way of reaching a negotiated settlement with the Palestinians? If Sharon can rise to the task and pragmatically arrive at an agreement that will be both feasible and answer Israel's security needs, he will complete the last act in his phoenix-like career and ensure himself a place in the country's history, not as a defamed figure but as a great statesman. Which path he chooses to take remains to be seen.

## True reform in public sector wages

EVELYN GORDON

According to Knesset Speaker Dan Tichon, the first item on the Knesset's agenda when it resumes work next week will be Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's proposal that senior civil servants, including MKs, waive the 5.4 percent pay hike they are supposed to receive next month. Netanyahu says this would save the government NIS 40 million a year.

For senior public officials to accept a generous pay raise when many ordinary Israelis are unable to make ends meet would certainly be in bad taste - especially when the increase would be funded by taxpayers whose salaries are often one-fifth the size of an MK's, or less. Nevertheless, this proposal is a mere public relations gimmick. It does not address any of the outrageous systemic inequalities in the public-sector pay scale.

Government officials are not oblivious to these issues. In fact, the Netanyahu and Rabin governments between them have submitted proposals to rectify many of these aberrations. Even more surprisingly, the Knesset has acted on some. Most notably, it decided a few years ago that MKs and ministers will accrue pension rights at the rate of only 2% a year, as ordinary workers do, instead of 4%. This means that, like other workers, they are now eligible for full pensions (70% of their salary) only after 35 years, instead of after 17.5 years.

However, other proposals have been languishing for years with little action, and newer ones face serious opposition as well.

A Rabin-era proposal to align judges' pensions with those of ordinary workers is still pending before the Knesset Finance Committee, due to MKs' reluctance to take on the judges. Yet judicial pensions are outrageously high. Judges accumulate pension rights at the rate of 7% a year - meaning they can receive full pensions after only 10 years.

The judges claim this is necessary, since most people are appointed to the bench relatively late in life, and therefore often serve no more than 10 years.

However, this argument is as specious as it was in the case of MKs and ministers, who also often have short tenures - because judges have accrued pension rights in other jobs before ascending to the bench. Thus a judge who, for instance, spent 25 years as a private lawyer and 10 years on the bench would get a 50% pension for his years as a lawyer (assuming he paid into a pension plan), as well as whatever he receives for his years on the bench.

ANOTHER government proposal recently submitted to the Knesset would link senior civil service

salaries to the Consumer Price Index, instead of to the average wage - which generally rises faster. This proposal still leaves such officials as a privileged class, since the cost-of-living increase given ordinary workers is less than the full CPI (the exact percentage depends on how high inflation is). Yet even this partial reform faces opposition.

Most important of all is a Finance Ministry proposal to have new civil servants join contributory pension plans. Although ordinary workers pay 5% to 6% of their monthly salaries into a pension fund, civil servants contribute nothing. Their entire pensions are funded by the taxpayer. The Treasury's proposal would wean the civil service away from this system over several years, as workers retire and are replaced. Not surprisingly, this idea is vehemently opposed by the Histadrut. Nor is the labor federation entirely wrong, since this issue affects not only senior civil servants but also the lowest paid government clerks. For these people, the pension subsidy is an important part of their salaries, and any deal should therefore include compensation for its loss - up to a certain salary level.

However, it is discouraging that this proposal - on the table for several years - has made so little

progress. The current system not only imposes an enormous burden on the state budget, it is also grossly unjust. There is no reason for some workers to be subsidizing others' pensions - especially when those others include some of the best-paid people in the country.

MKs and ministry director-generals earn NIS 25,393 a month; ministers, Supreme Court justices and other senior officials earn even more. This in itself is unacceptable. Not only are good salaries necessary to attract good people, but the occupants of such jobs deserve compensation for long and unpredictable working hours that exact a heavy toll on their personal lives.

However, this is also true for business executives. Yet no one would claim that CEOs deserve a pension at taxpayer expense - especially after a mere 10 years on the job.

Long-term systemic reform is much more important than whether public officials forgo their semiannual pay raise for one year. Yet if MKs agree to give up their raise this October, they will use this as an excuse for digging in their heels on the important reforms.

Netanyahu is therefore making a mistake to waste political capital on this issue. The best thing would be to quietly drop the idea - and instead bring his full political weight to bear on proposals for long-term change.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### TRUE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Sir, - With reference to the item "PA intensifying bid to control churches" (October 4) about a government report on the evolving character of the churches in the Holy Land, let me make three points which might answer some of the implicit queries the report raises.

First, surely it is normal for the local churches in the Holy Land to have a Palestinian leadership? After all, the overwhelming majority of indigenous Christians here are Palestinian Arabs. As such, it becomes quite difficult to sustain the thesis that they should have as Head of the Church a foreign clergyman or missionary who does not come from their local culture. Imagine just for one moment the Sephardi chief

rabbi in Israel electing an American Jew to head their institution!

Secondly, Christians do not view their Bible merely as an abstract religious book. Most of them view it as a social manifesto against all sorts of injustice and discrimination anywhere in the world. Their faith reflects the life and teachings of Jesus, and highlights a faith-oriented exercise in reconciliation and peacemaking. This understanding of the New Testament encourages most church leaders here to speak out in favor of issues of peace and justice which, in turn, impact the political reality of the day.

Thirdly, the local Church leadership here does not live in a vacuum. It enjoys organic links with its

own community and reflects the collective will of those communities. Otherwise, the Church as an assembly of believers would stultify and become irrelevant to the ordinary man or woman. Any statements by the Church leadership here should not be gauged in terms of any pro-Israeli or anti-Israeli biases. Rather, they should be viewed in terms of how best they reflect their own ecclesial and prophetic traditions as much as the will of their people, the true Christian church.

DR. HARRY HAGOPIAN, LL.D.  
Executive Director,  
Middle East Council of Churches.

Jerusalem.

### FAMILY EXPENSES

Palestinians. One is expected to assume that the presence of a wife and two young children has a welcome and beneficial reception from the hosting American and UN bodies, who have nothing else to do than chaperon them around. One is equally expected to take it for granted that the enormous earth expense of the family escorting the prime minister on his official trip is privately borne by the prime minister from his huge salary, and covers the nannies, the

hairdressers, the extra chauffeur and escorting, the extra security guards, etc. etc.

After all, Israel has had to cut budgeting for education, for health care, for the IDF and many "less important" budget requirements - so that these jaunts can be made in a brand new airplane, to which the family is driven in a new armored Cadillac limousine.

ANNA LEVIN

Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On October 13, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported that in view of the Arab Executive's announcement to hold a procession in protest against Jewish immigration, the Palestine Mandatory Government refused to grant permission for such demonstration.

maintain law and order.

50 years ago: On October 13, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that Ramat Rahel was heavily shelled by the Egyptians who tried to advance their troops there, but were driven off by

The Palestine Arab "Gaza Government" adopted the flag of the Arab revolt under King Hussein Ibn Ali - green with two swords and the words "La ilah illa Allah" (there is no God but Allah) as its official flag.

These stories might make Page 1 for a day, but they live on Page 17. Page 1, every day, is reserved for Lewinsky. The country simply

Meanwhile ... Iraq is rebuilding its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

It needs just enriched uranium cores to complete three or four otherwise operational nuclear bombs. And Scott Ritter is trashed by the administration and its Senate apologists for blowing the whistle on Madeline Albright's surrender to Saddam on inspections.

- North Korea launches a missile over Japan. Two weeks later the administration announces that it was only a failed attempt to launch a satellite. (But rockets that can launch a satellite are by definition intercontinental and capable of reaching any spot on earth.) North Korea is also found to be building a huge underground nuclear complex, violating its 1994 freeze agreement with the United States. The administration pretends otherwise.

- The Middle East is headed for war next May when Arafat will declare a Palestinian state; Turkey and Greece are headed for possible war at year's end when Cyprus installs Russian anti-aircraft missiles that the Turks have promised to take out; and the dying goes on in Kosovo and Rwanda/Congo.

These stories might make Page 1 for a day, but they live on Page 17. Page 1, every day, is reserved for Lewinsky. The country simply

House mantra has it, the weakening of the president. How much weaker can his foreign policy get? Iraq policy, for example, turned flaccid when Saddam first kicked out Ritter and the American inspectors last November, two months before the Lewinsky scandal broke.

The problem is not that this inert president is distracted but that the country is distracted. Those in the public arena and in Congress who should be highlighting, debating and challenging the administration on these critical issues are busy studying Watergate precedents and reading transcripts of that milestone in American literature, the Tripp-Lewinsky tapes.

Absent Lewinsky, we would have had serious congressional hearings and a serious national debate in August on Albright's legally accurate (to borrow a current phrase) and wholly misleading account of the US role in undermining the weapons inspectors in Iraq. We'd be asking what this administration is doing about North Korea's developing missiles which will soon be able to hit Alaska and Hawaii and, not long after, the mainland. We'd be investigating why the administration has for six years been dragging its

defense system for the United States.

THE Lewinsky saga has got to end. But how? It is now clear that this president will never leave office: He does not have the decency to resign and the Senate will not convict him in an impeachment trial.

The only remaining question is whether the House will indict him for perjury and obstruction and for the contempt he has shown for the legal system and for the American people these last long nine months.

The country can live with either outcome: no impeachment referral because crimes originating in farce do not merit the adjective "high"; or, impeachment because the nature of the originating event is irrelevant when oaths are violated and the legal system corrupted.

What is important for the nation is that the decision should come quickly. Which is why Republicans should stop resisting the opportunity to play statesmen and accept the Democrats' proposal of a time and subject-limited impeachment inquiry.

Democrats want it restricted to Lewinsky and completed within weeks. Why not? Unless Republicans know something

Whitewater that we don't, there's no point in stalling into them now. And Henry Hyde wants hearings ended by Christmas, anyway.

Dems say Thanksgiving. Why give up the opportunity for bipartisanship over four weeks? The Democratic alternative would yield a unanimous House vote for subjecting Bill Clinton to only the third impeachment inquiry in American presidential history. Let Hyde offer to split the difference and have a target date of mid-December, to be extended if Clinton supporters try to filibuster and run out the clock.

That makes sense not just for the country, but for the Republicans' partisan interest as well. Not a single Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee hearings rose to defend the president's conduct. No one dares deny that he had committed the acts of which he was accused, namely perjury and obstruction, etc. The only issue that the Democrats have left is alleged Republican partisanship on questions of procedure.

Accepting the Democrats' impeachment proposal leaves them with nothing. Republicans should seize it. It is not often that the most political thing to do turns out to be the most patriotic too.

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# Weekly Review

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9

## Boom

### A Panic Can Be Stopped, Until It Starts

By DAVID E. SANGER

**A**S the world's finance ministers and bankers argued and strategized here last week about the most virulent outbreak of economic turmoil in half a century, it often seemed as if they were watching a spectacular fire, viewed from the safety of a well-catered picnic just across the river.

While nibbling on fresh shrimp and sushi, the leaders of the global economy marveled at how high the flames were soaring, and how quickly they leapt from house to house. But mostly, they talked about what an amazing global economic village they planned to build some day on the charred landscape.

It will be magnificent: Big buildings equipped with computer-controlled sprinkler systems that kick into action at the first whiff of smoke. A protective shield will descend on nearby structures to keep them from going up in flames, too. There will be new safety rules: Kindly leave your combustible hedge funds, your insolvent banks, and your crony capitalists at the door.

The only thing that was missing was a plan for putting the fire out.

At the crisis-wracked annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank — the institutions created 53 years ago to assure global stability after World War II — the 21st-century village was termed the "new international financial architecture." President Clinton insisted it would be designed "to tame the pattern of boom-bust on an international scale."

Unfortunately, the groundbreaking ceremony is years away. And with 20 million people in East Asia falling back into poverty this year, the I.M.F. cutting its estimates for world growth by more than half, Muscovites taking to the streets and the dollar taking a mysterious 25 percent plunge in two days, it seemed odd that the overseers of the global economy were more comfortable talking about how to prevent the next crisis than how to survive this one.

It didn't exactly help when Michel Camdessus, the I.M.F.'s managing director, tried to sound reassuring by declaring, "We are not in 1928."

#### Uncharted Territory

It is hardly surprising that everyone wants to talk about long-term solutions. New financial architectures sound neat and well-planned, a system as thoroughly

modern as trading stocks on the Internet. Unfortunately, solving the immediate crisis is far messier — for it involves navigating a global economic landscape no one has mapped, complicated by political failures no one could have predicted.

At the core of the economic problem is a classic panic: Fear has overwhelmed greed. The Asian crisis caused investors around the world to pull back. But Russia's economic collapse last summer signaled that countries really can default — and there is not much their creditors can do about it.

Ever since, banks and investors have been unwilling to take the normal risks that are a necessary part of keeping the world running smoothly. Suddenly they see trouble everywhere, and they are simply refusing to lend or invest in countries to which, only 18 months ago, they were willing to funnel money at astoundingly low interest rates. Now all that money has poured out of emerging markets like Southeast Asia and Latin America and fled to safe havens, chiefly United States Treasury bonds. The resulting shortage of credit is strangling economies around the world, and threatening to afflict the American economy, too.

"I've never seen anything like this," said Alan

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#### Playing the Impeachment Card

### In Senate Races, a Tough New Issue

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

**S**ENATOR ALFONSE M. D'AMATO, the New York Republican who is running for re-election, went to Grand Central Terminal the other morning to accept an award from mass transit advocates. But the reporters who had gathered there showed little interest in the shiny train car at the Senator's back. Instead, they repeatedly asked him how he would vote on an impeachment of President Clinton.

"Look, I'm not going to make any comment with respect to that subject matter," Mr. D'Amato responded. "I am not just a citizen. I am a citizen-Senator who may be called upon to make a decision."

But Mr. D'Amato is something else as well: a candidate in what may be the tightest Senate race in the nation. And variations of his elliptical response can be heard in Senate races around the country, where both Republicans and Democrats are encountering similar questions. All of which suggests that after the House voted on Thursday to authorize an impeachment inquiry, this year's 34 races for the United States Senate have become, beyond what they already were, the electoral equivalent of jury selection.

If the House votes to impeach Mr. Clinton, the matter goes to the Senate, which must decide by a two-thirds majority whether to convict him and, thus, remove him from office. As a result, the Lewinsky matter has suddenly injected a new disruptive force into the Senate contests.

Voters, even those who support Mr. Clinton, expect their political leaders, Republican or Democrat, to renounce Mr. Clinton's behavior, and candidates have been doing that. But impeachment is another matter; most

polls show the nation is against it. The danger for Senate candidates is that with impeachment now a real possibility, the debate may move beyond the President's behavior — about which there is little disagreement — to the more problematic issue of whether he should be removed from office.

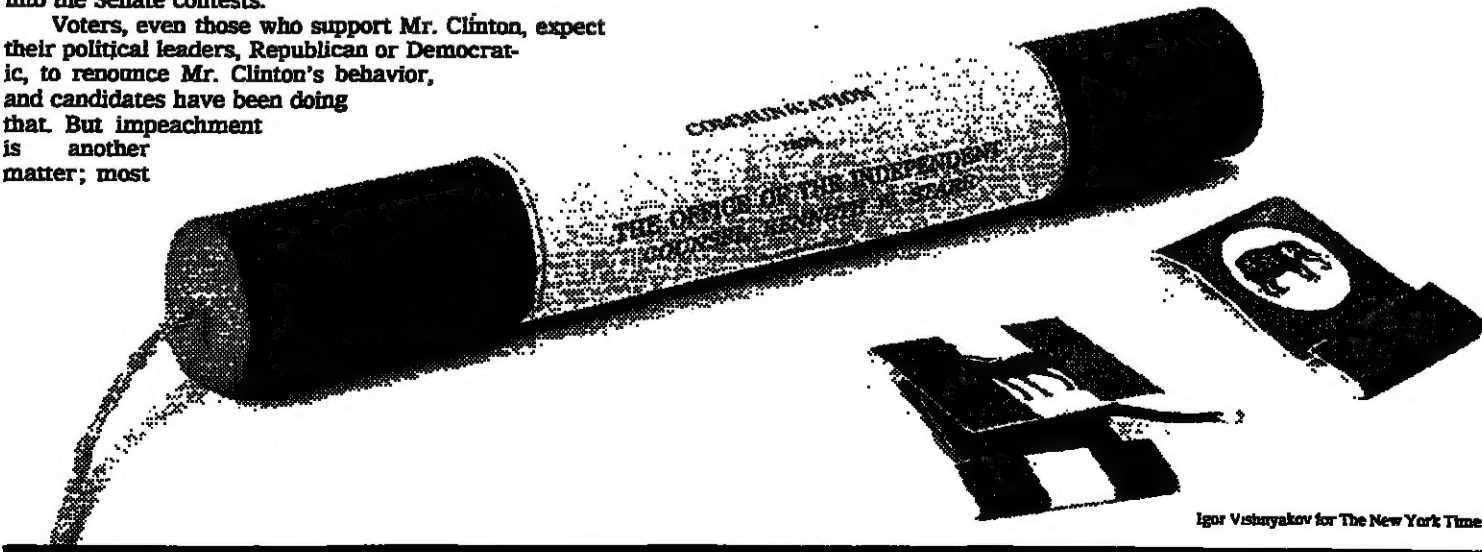
For most of the strategists involved in the races, there is little guidance on how to handle the impeachment issue. Advisers to candidates of both parties said in interviews last week that they were perplexed and worried, unsure what they can or should do on the issue to gain the advantage — or guard against harm.

"I can't tell how this one is going to go," said Mike Russell, a spokesman for the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. "This is a very surreal environment."

Of the 34 Senate seats in play, 18 are held by Democrats and 16 by Republicans, who now hold 55 seats in all. Republicans would have to win 28 of the 34 races to produce the 67 votes necessary for conviction in the Senate, assuming such a vote were to go along party lines. Only an electoral catastrophe for the Democrats, which seems almost unthinkable, could produce such a huge loss.

Jennifer E. Duffy, who follows Senate races for the Cook Political Report, a nonpartisan newsletter, said that so far, at least, none of the Sen-

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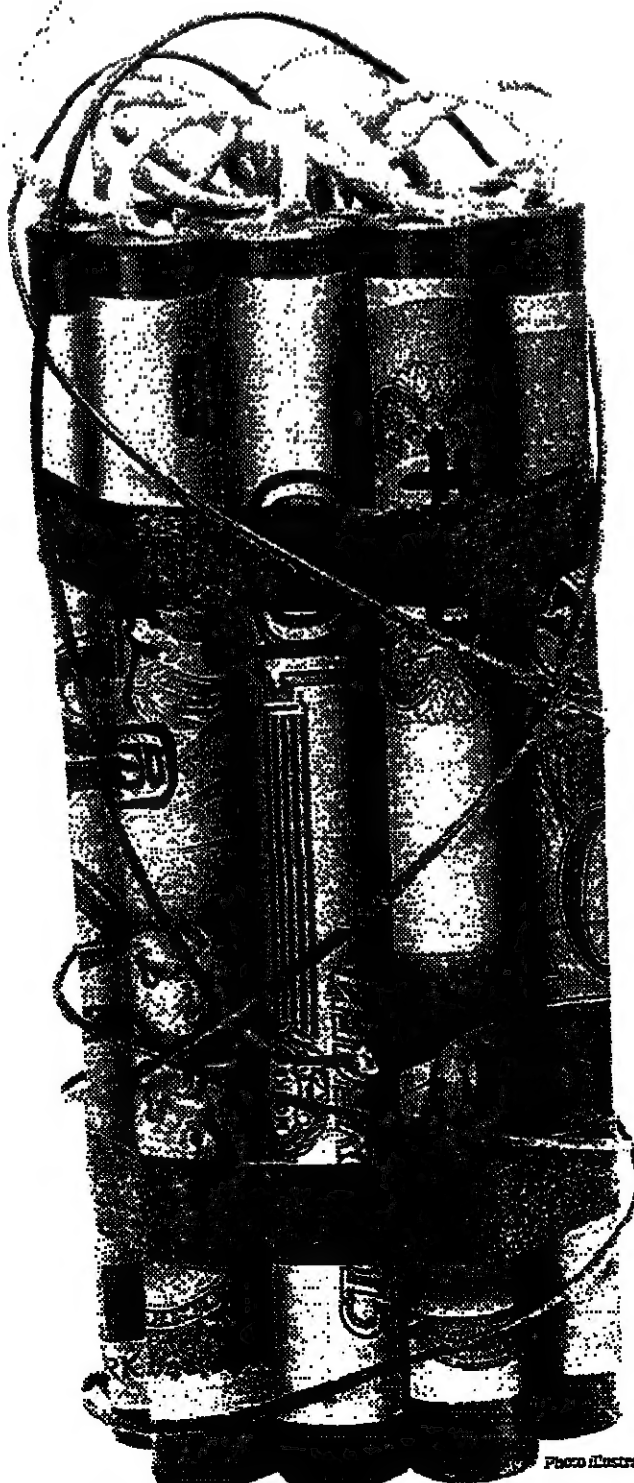


Photo illustration by Andy Chen



# The Nation

## Partisan Rancor: Not Always So Bad for the National Soul

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON  
THE tidy, fateful day of partisan struggle was winding down as Representative Henry J. Hyde, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, forwarded the recommended impeachment inquiry of President Clinton to certain approval by the House.

But he suddenly looked up, recalling another bit of urgent business — the committee's need to pose for its official group photograph. "I plead with you to show up," Mr. Hyde said to the lawmakers, intent on replacing the existing class photo. "I have a lopsided picture in my office, not very bipartisan." To his left, Barney Frank, the outspoken Democrat with the trigger instinct of a standup comic, interjected, "Why should that be any different, Mr. Chairman?"

There followed some easy laughter that was rare and much needed as counterpoint in the rigidly partisan day as the committee launched the House impeachment vessel upon highly uncertain political seas.

### Factions and Facts

In the partisan debate that formally blessed the inquiry, the Watergate gavel wielded artfully 24 years ago by Peter W. Rodino Jr., Mr. Hyde's predecessor in the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon, was invoked as if it were the magic sword of Excalibur. "Here we may be partisan in the highest sense," pleaded Christopher B. Cannon, Republican of Utah. "We must argue our views, we must look for facts and characterizations that favor our side."

But lurking about the 105th Congress are some of the darker insights of the Founding Fathers about partisanship, or factionalism, as it was then termed.

"The latent causes of faction are sown in the nature of man," cautioned James Madison, the Constitution's architect, in the Federalist Papers. "An attachment to different leaders, ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power," he warned, has "divided

man into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity."

Madison's words might well be carved in House stone in qualification of the more idealized Capitol chiselings on nonpartisanship that urge debaters onward and upward.

"Not long ago, partisanship was a tool with which one accomplished a policy agenda," said former Representative Pat Williams, a Democrat looking back from his new and gentler career as an environmentalist in Montana. "Now it's a mechanism whereby one destroys the opponent, embarrasses his family and puts him in jail at the end of the day. I think the American people despise it."

With similar regret, other Capitol Hill veterans insist there truly were better times of partisan dispute focused on ideas — before "to Bork" was coined as a political attack verb, from the undermining of a Republican Supreme Court nominee.

Those were days, too, before Newt Gingrich wielded the partisanship of personal attack in destroying his Democratic rival, Speaker Jim Wright, in a scandal assault. There are old-timers aghast that these days Speaker Gingrich and the Democratic House minority leader, Richard A. Gephardt, can barely tolerate each other's presence, while the late Democratic Speaker Tip O'Neill was a beloved buddy of Bob Michel, the Republican minority leader, when the sun set each day on their legislative wrangling.

"Don't forget the Republicans had 40 years to collect grievances," said M. Caldwell Butler, a former Republican Congressman from Virginia, recalling his party's decades in the House wilderness. He will remember his freshman year in the minority on the Judiciary Committee, when the Watergate partisanship was indeed heavy-handed at first, despite the fabled Rodino gavel. But this ultimately eased.

"As you get near the nitty-gritty and the rules are ironed out, you start addressing the facts. And the inclination becomes less partisan and more specific between yourself and your own conscience and not the party," said Mr. Butler, a 10-year House veteran who finally voted to impeach. "My own perception of it was that as the Democratic major-

ity became more aware of the importance of having a bipartisan vote on impeachment, the deliberations became more bipartisan."

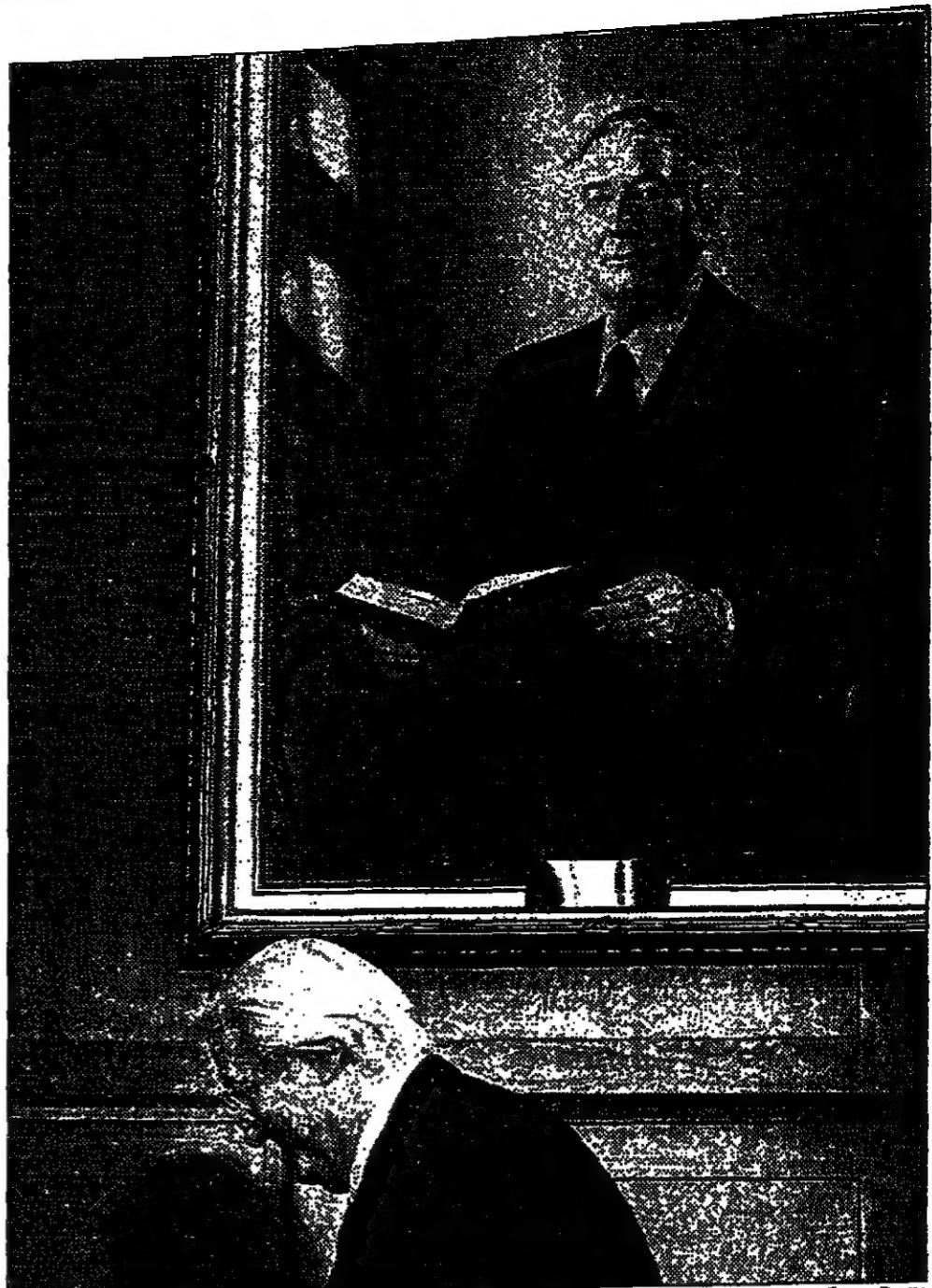
Chairman Hyde is hoping for a similar syndrome, provided the nitty-gritty is deemed to be there in the case against Mr. Clinton, and presumably with such partisan factors as Mr. Gingrich himself offstage. Initially, at least, the Clinton case seems problematic for the furious tangle of partisan animus and factual dispute at its heart. To win over Democrats and the public, the Republicans must move beyond some members' plain detestation of Mr. Clinton as their partisan engine, and prevail on the firmer historical ground of a two-party adversary proceeding rooted in demonstrated fact and Constitutional principle.

### Clarifying Agent

The House vote approving the inquiry had a slight protective coloration of bipartisanship, with 31 Democrats voting with the Republicans, in fear, perhaps, of being demagogued as blatantly tolerant of the President's transgressions. But Democrats are fearful of gross partisanship in the coming inquiry. David P. Schippers, the Republicans' Judiciary counsel, while trumpeting himself as a die-hard Democrat, incensed committee Democrats with an emotional postscript to his initial reading of the case against Mr. Clinton — a caution that America's hallowed generations "are looking down and judging what you do." Mr. Hyde quickly struck the moralizing remarks from the record, but Mr. Schippers was unapologetic. "If they don't like what I said, that's too bad," he told reporters.

The politics of personal attack are rooted in well-funded campaign stratagems that can dominate politicians' styles even before they arrive here. The public plainly eschews partisanship as the sort of device that infamously saw the Government shut down in a budget fight. But historically, partisanship can be viewed as a clarifying agent as much as a muddling device when the great issues are at stake.

In the furiously fought impeachment of



The House Judiciary chairman, Henry J. Hyde, under a portrait of Peter W. Rodino Jr.

President Andrew Johnson, who was finally spared by the margin of one Senate vote, the issue was how punitively or magnanimously to re-integrate the South into the Union — nothing less than how to make the country whole again. In the Senate censure of Andrew Jackson in 1834 after his scuttling of the national bank (a censure soon reversed), the issues were Federal versus local power and the shape of the nascent economy at a critical juncture between agrarianism and industrialization. Big stuff, and again necessarily ugly, perhaps, in the tooth-and-claw partisan-

ship of debate. And the Nixon impeachment was about a White House array of criminal behavior finally closing in on the nation's leader, with Congressional partisanship itself the nation's last best adversary device for testing the charges.

"There never was a nonpartisan in politics," President Harry S. Truman fervently insisted, amused at the very idea, long before such phenomena as Watergate and Monica S. Lewinsky ever surfaced, that any critical dispute in the life of a nation can be somehow devoid of partisanship.

## New Issue In Senate Races: Impeachment

Continued from Page 9

ate candidates has made an explicit appeal for votes based on how they would vote on a Presidential jury. But she and others are wondering if this may be about to change.

This is difficult ground to measure. One of the central questions of this political year has been how Mr. Clinton's dealings with Monica S. Lewinsky might affect turnout. For a long time, politicians assumed that dispirited Democrats would stay home as a rebuke to Mr. Clinton, just as Republicans did in 1974, the year after President Richard M. Nixon resigned.

But now some analysts wonder if the partisan fight in Congress last week might have the opposite effect among some Democrats. "That's the problem," said Stuart Rothenberg, the editor of an independent political newsletter in Washington. "It's not that we don't know, and

### Candidates try to find tactics that help, or at least don't hurt.

that the politicians don't know, where the general public stands on impeachment. The problem is that we don't know where the electorate stands on impeachment."

And asking voters to think ahead to an impeachment proceeding as they cast their ballots in a Senate race is, in the words of Stuart Stevens, a Republican consultant, "a double bank-shot." Such strategies, he said, tend to work only with a small number of single-minded or sophisticated voters.

Against that complicated backdrop, the prevailing thinking is that the use of the impeachment issue will vary from race to race, state to state and week to week, depending on the circumstances of the candidates and the composition of the electorate.

### Clinton in the Dock

If Democrats try to turn the image of Mr. Clinton in the dock to their advantage, it would be in states with a Democratic edge or with sizable numbers of black voters, who overwhelmingly support the President. In contests like those, it might well prove to be in the interest of a Democratic candidate to, as one consultant put it, sit down in front of a camera and tape an advertisement in which the candidate denounces the President's behavior but solemnly pledges to vote against impeachment.

Strategists in both parties believe that

disconnect between the elites and the public," said Fred Yang, a Democratic consultant with clients in Wisconsin and the Carolinas. That kind of Democratic strategy might emerge in California, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Washington and perhaps Arkansas. By contrast, Democrats in South Carolina, Georgia and Nevada would be less likely to oppose Mr. Clinton's impeachment.

### Scenes from New York

On the other side, Republican consultants are telling their candidates to stress Mr. Clinton's misdeeds and stay away from talk of impeachment. The last thing the party wants is to turn the Senate elections into a referendum on whether Mr. Clinton should be forced from office.

"The White House might think from the overall public numbers that maybe they would like to make this a referendum election," said Ed Goetz, a Republican pollster who is working in Senate races this year. "Republicans certainly aren't going to let that happen."

Some hints of how things might play out could be seen last week, and there was probably no better place to watch it than New York. Mr. Clinton is so popular that the Democratic candidate for Governor, Peter F. Vallone, whose campaign is in serious trouble, released a commercial denouncing impeachment. In the Senate race, which features two of the nation's most politically perceptive politicians, Mr. D'Amato sidestepped impeachment questions while his opponent, Charles E. Schumer, a Democratic Congressman, announced that he opposed it.

Mr. D'Amato responded to questions about Mr. Clinton with the language that Republican consultants have been suggesting to their candidates. "When and if that matter comes to the Senate, I will decide on the facts that are presented to me at that time," Mr. D'Amato said. "It would be very premature for me to suggest any course of action without it being referred. Because, indeed, we may be called upon to act as a jury of some kind."

But Mr. Schumer, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which is conducting the impeachment investigation, virtually embraced the issue. In a live telecast of the hearings, he said the President deserved a lesser punishment, such as censure or reprimand. And Mr. Schumer plans to campaign in New York on Monday with Mr. Clinton at his side.

Mr. Schumer's media adviser, Hank Morris, seemed to suggest last week that impeachment will grow as an issue. "Senator D'Amato claims he does not want to share his opinion with the people of New York," Mr. Morris said. "And if he doesn't have an opinion, he's the only New Yorker who doesn't have an opinion."

Asked if Mr. Schumer would raise the issue in a television commercial, Mr. Morris responded: "We don't talk about what we're going to do. I wouldn't rule it

## For Halloween, It Was Inevitable



At the Abracadabra store in New York, the owner, Paul Blum, dons a mask. Louisa Maria Marrero wears beret and wig.

By MIKE ALLEN

IT'S not easy being Monica — even for one night. The nation's major mask makers have taken a pass on Monica S. Lewinsky this Halloween, worried about possible lawsuits over the use of her likeness. So revelers will have to improvise with wigs and berets, and many plan to do so.

Party stores and costume makers report that this season's best-selling spooky gear is all about Ms. Lewinsky. President Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Linda Tripp and even Kenneth W. Starr.

Abracadabra in New York City sells Clinton masks with Pinocchio noses (available for several years). Halloween Adventure, another New York shop, offers masks of the Clintons with Titanic life preservers. In Washington, Backstage Inc. got some practice for Halloween recently when a bar held a Linda Tripp look-alike contest. "They bought blonde wigs and took black Magic Markers to the roots," said Sandra S. Durnes, the manager.

The absence of Monica masks has been a disappointment to some, but the mask companies may have been wise to steer clear. An aide (yes, an aide) to Ms. Lewinsky said no one had asked permission to license a Monica mask, but that if anyone did, Ms. Lewinsky would refuse. Indeed, the aide said, Ms. Lewinsky's lawyers are looking for ways to crack down on entre-

preneurs who have used her picture on cookies, T-shirts and postcards.

Thus, the full Monica, like slipping past a Secret Service agent, takes creativity. At Morris Costumes in Charlotte, N.C., clerks are cutting the red ribbons out of their Snow White wigs. "Bada-boom, bada-bing — you've got Monica Lewinsky," said C. Ashley Coolik, an enterprising sales associate.

Cesar Inc. in Manhattan's Flatiron District, recommends adapting its "Witchy Woman" mask. Abracadabra offers a Monica wig, a beret and a wig-beret combo. Annie's Costumes and Magic, in Plantation, Fla., offers a blue dress. "The big Halloween dilemma is where to put the stain," said Jerry L. Sturdevant, the assistant manager. Various "intern kits" also are for sale. At the chain of Spirit Halloween Superstores, the package costs \$14.99 and includes a hat, a pearl necklace and an "intern pass."

Halloween fads of recent years suggest that becoming a popular costume is a fleeting measure of infamy. Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, Saddam Hussein, Lorena Bobbitt and Woody Allen all were hottest when the news about them was the worst. Thomas R. Campbell, the president of Classic Distributing Company in Audubon, N.J., pointed out that he still hasn't been able to unload 2,000 O. J. Simpson masks.

Dr. Jack Santino, a professor of popular culture at Bowling Green State University,

said more than simple notoriety is involved. "It's more dangerous — you've been made a joke," he said. "This is the people's holiday, and we delight in rubbing their nose in it."

Still, the costume business has its decorous few. Frankie Stein, the owner of Frankie Steinz Costumes in Tribeca, considered offering a knit dress with a stain but decided it would be tacky. "We were tempted, but we've seen the light," she said.

But others see a windfall. Philip Morris, the president of Morris Costumes, predicts that President Clinton will have a Nixon-like shelf-life. "Ten Halloween costumes from now we'll be selling Clinton masks," he said.

James R. Bradley, the sales manager at Mask Illusions in Chula Vista, Calif., is already thinking ahead. He has begun working on next season, calculating that a mask of Mr. Starr, the independent counsel, will be big. "Ken Starr's head is shaped like a pear and he has big cheeks and a very comical smile that he tries to put on," Mr. Bradley said. For precedent, he points to the lasting appeal of President Jimmy Carter's big teeth, and Ross Perot's floppy ears.

Perhaps the real optimists are the mask dealers who said they could console themselves about this year's shortage since by this time next year, no one will be talking about Monica Lewinsky.

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## Ideas & Trends

# Privacy Matters: When Bigger Banks Aren't Better

By LESLIE WAYNE

IMAGINE you are being treated for breast cancer, a fact known to your Travelers' insurance agent from your medical tests and insurance forms. Imagine also that you are applying for a mortgage from, say, Citibank, where you've banked for years and which has just merged with Travelers Group. Despite your excellent credit rating, your mortgage is denied by Citibank for reasons that are unclear.

Or suppose you've just inherited lots of money from a relative's life insurance policy and you put the money into your Fleet Bank account. Pretty soon you get a call from a representative of Quick & Reilly, a brokerage firm you have never heard of but which is owned by Fleet. The broker is equipped with surprisingly detailed knowledge of your financial situation — along with a few ideas about how to invest your windfall.

Both situations may be hypothetical but they aren't so far-fetched, according to a growing number of bankers, lawmakers, banking regulators and consumer advocates worried about the potential dark side

**With customers' medical and financial data under the same roof, some fear that secrets will be shared.**

of the mergers sweeping the financial industry. As banks, brokerage firms and insurance companies combine into huge new conglomerates, and with legislation before Congress to make such mergers even easier, there is increasing concern about the amount of personal financial and medical data that can be collected under one roof.

### Fear of Disclosure

So far, this privacy debate has centered mainly on the use of patients' medical records, especially by health maintenance organizations. But a new twist has been added as banks have expanded into businesses like securities and insurance sales, both of which involve the collection of a wide range of personal information.

Just last week, Citicorp and Travelers



DAVID G. KIMM

Group completed their \$50 billion merger, creating the world's largest financial services conglomerate, with 70 million customers. The new company, Citigroup, has access to a wealth of customer information, including mutual fund accounts, health claims on insurance policies, and credit card, mortgage and car loan balances. Many consumer advocates are worried that such sensitive data can easily be transferred from one part of the company to another and possibly be disclosed to outside parties.

"It is very important for banks to realize the challenge they face in the privacy area is

something new, different and more difficult than what they've dealt with before," said Julie Williams, Acting Comptroller of the Currency. "It's in their self-interest to recognize privacy as a customer concern and deal with it successfully or they may be subject to more restrictive controls on the ability to use this information."

Nationsbank, which is acquiring the Bank-America Corporation, has already run into trouble with customer privacy. The company recently paid nearly \$40 million to settle a class-action suit and end a Government investigation after more than 18,000 custom-

ers, many of them elderly, were sold complex derivative securities that were far too risky for them. Nationsbank's brokerage arm had used the bank's customer list to target people to approach, many of whom mistakenly believed that the derivatives were safe and insured. As a result, Nationsbank has imposed new limits on the use of private data.

"Talking to a banker used to be like going to confession or seeing a psychiatrist — we thought the information was protected," said Edmund Mierzwinski, executive director of the U.S. Public Interest Group, a nonprofit

pro-consumer organization. "But that's no longer the case. These mergers are creating bigger data bases with more power."

Financial services companies argue that the ability to swap data between one arm and another is a driving force behind many mergers. Banks want to broaden their ability to "cross-market" credit cards to checking deposit customers or sell stocks and bonds to holders of car loans. But bankers say they must be careful to balance this desire to sell new products against the need to maintain the trust of their customers.

"We are very concerned," said Edward Yingling, executive director for government relations at the American Bankers Association. "The key question is, what is the proper balance between appropriate and valuable cross-marketing and invasions of privacy? No one believes medical records should be used for cross-marketing in ways that would be invasive. It's more difficult when financial information can be used to show our customers that other products might be very good for them. That's what everyone has to wrestle with."

### Promises

Current law allows bank customers to sign "opt out" forms, preventing one part of a bank from giving personal information to another. The Comptroller's office has found, however, that few banks highlight this option. "Most bank customers can't ever recall seeing anything like this," Ms. Williams said.

As part of its merger application to the Federal Reserve Board, Citigroup made a "Global Privacy Promise," which would "provide customers the right to prevent Citigroup from sharing customer information with others, including affiliates, for cross-marketing purposes." Customers will also be given opt-out provisions and Travelers has pledged that it will not share the medical or health information of its insurance customers "for marketing purposes." Consumer advocates like Mr. Mierzwinski say such protections should be a matter of law, and not established case by case.

Senator Christopher J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, has been leading a push in Congress for greater financial privacy restrictions.

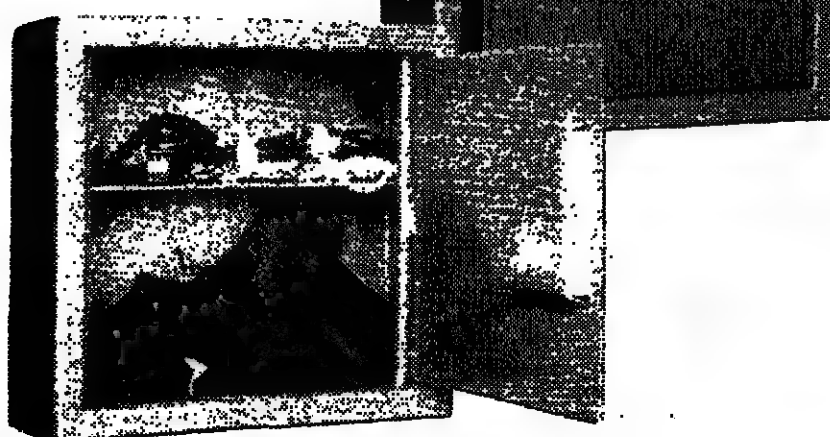
"There are hardly any safeguards out there," Mr. Dodd told the Senate Banking Committee last month. "As each year goes by, the vulnerability of the people we represent becomes more exposed. The longer we delay, we are exposing millions to unfair access by people who should not have access."

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# The World

## If Hedgehogs Could Talk, This Is What They'd Say

By LESLIE EATON

**N**OBODY likes to say, "I goofed" — particularly when the mistake helped cause the meltdown of stock and bond markets around the globe. Which is part of the reason the public pronouncements about the near-collapse of Long-Term Capital Management and the billion-dollar bailout of the hedge fund organized by the Federal Reserve have been couched in language as arcane as the military lingo in a Tom Clancy novel. (Another reason is that Wall Street loves jargon, which makes its business sound mysterious and important and serves as a sort of secret handshake.)

But for readers whose cereal boxes don't come with Alan Greenspan decoder rings, the following vocabulary builder may help impress people at parties — and perhaps prove handy as the hedge-fund drama continues to unfold.

Let's start with **hedge fund**, which has nothing to do with shrubs, and little to do with the kind of safety implied by, say, hedging one's bets.

A hedge fund, of which Long-Term Capital was a large and prominent example, is a sort of mutual fund for the very rich and for professional investors like pension funds and college endowments, all of whom are supposed to be able to watch out for themselves. That's why hedge funds are not subject to government oversight (at least not yet). The main thing hedge funds have in common is that the people run-

ning them get to take a chunk of any profits the fund makes, in addition to an annual management fee; this tends to encourage them to take big risks.

Practically everyone who has left Wall Street in the past decade claims to be running a hedge fund, even if they spend most of their time practicing fly-fishing casts or watching "The Jerry Springer Show." So hedge funds come in a wide variety of sizes, from a couple of million dollars to a billion-plus.

But they can have an outsized influence on financial markets because they can employ leverage, which basically means they make their bets with borrowed money. Long-Term Capital borrowed about \$20 for every dollar investors put in, which is the kind of behavior that ultimately sends compulsive bettors to Gamblers Anonymous. On Wall Street, that lofty level of betting is sometimes called **nosebleed leverage**.

Wall Street makes it easier to ratchet up bets by creating derivatives, or contracts whose value is derived from the performance of something else. Anything else. The direction of interest rates in Thailand. The number of rainy days in August. The difference between the current interest rates in Thailand and the number of rainy days in August, divided by the number of pages in the Starr report.

While some derivatives are commonplace and publicly traded — like the futures that let farmers lock in the price of corn long before the crop is harvested — many are private wagers between two parties, like barroom bets about which frog will jump the farthest.

That's why such positions can be so hard to unwind, or squirm out of.

Long-Term Capital was supposed to be a market neutral hedge fund, which means it wasn't supposed to be betting on the overall direction of the stock or bond market. The fund's actual strategy was a secret, even to the people who invested in the fund or loaned it money. Its activities were also hidden from regulators, leading to complaints that nobody knew what the fund was up to, also known as **lack of transparency**.

But it seems Long-Term Capital employed a kind of computer-driven arbitrage, a word with a variety of meanings on Wall Street. In this case, it seems to have meant buying stuff for the wrong price.

For example, if toothpaste in your neighborhood usually sells for about \$4 a tube, and you find it in another store for \$2, you would snap up all you could. But you wouldn't necessarily brush your teeth a lot more; you might sell the tubes on the street and reap a 100 percent profit.

The problem with this strategy, as Mr. Greenspan of the Federal Reserve pointed out in his testimony to Congress earlier this month (though not in these words), is that if enough people try to do this toothpaste trading, either the store will raise the price or folks on the street will stop buying your toothpaste and go to the store instead. Either way, the chances of making a killing will evaporate. Money being a lot easier to move than toothpaste, these things happen in a flash in financial markets.

All this helps explain why Long-Term Capital had to move into far-flung markets with low liquidity, meaning it's hard to buy and sell things without pushing prices up or down sharply. Many of the hedge fund's bets were in notoriously illiquid emerging markets, which used to be known as third-world countries and are now called **submerging markets** by Wall Street traders who have lost a bundle overseas.

Russia may not have had much success as an evil empire, but as an evil emerging market, it rules. After Moscow defaulted on its debt in August, spooked investors moved their money to the safest spot they could think of: long bonds, the 30-year securities sold by the United States.

That flight to quality reversed capital flows, so money that had been streaming into risky markets looking for extra profit poured instead into places where there was little risk of loss. Investors bid up the price of Treasuries while dumping everything else, which shorted out all those high-tech computer models Long-Term Capital was relying on.

As a result, the fund was essentially bought by the banks and brokerage firms that had loaned it money based mainly on the perceived intellectual wattage of the fund's managers.

In the wake of the Long-Term Capital fiasco, many investors have moved, in Mr. Greenspan's words, from **irrational exuberance** to fear.

All of this thanks to what economists call an **exogenous event**. Also known as a surprise.

### What Asian Crisis?

## Beijing Feels Bullish As It Plays Catch-Up

By SETH FAISON

**A**CROSS the river from this city's majestic waterfront, in an area that was swampland not long ago, a gleaming collection of skyscrapers is emerging. The most impressive, ambitiously named the World Financial Center, is scheduled to become the tallest building in the world when it is completed in 2001.

Boosters hope the area, known as Pudong, will become China's Wall Street, with investment banks and other financial institutions alongside a stock exchange with state-of-the-art technology that opened earlier this year. A new airport is under construction in Pudong; so is a \$1 billion General Motors plant that will make Buick sedans. Despite all the ambitious plans, however, occupancy rates in Pudong are only around 70 percent. The Shanghai real estate market has gone bust, after years of boom, and pessimists argue that it portends a collapse in the spectacularly fast growth that China has enjoyed since 1981.

So many of its neighbors in Asia are mired in financial wreckage that economists and international traders fear that China may be the last and hottest domino. Last week, the Government-ordered closing of the Guangdong International Trust and Investment Corporation, a big investment

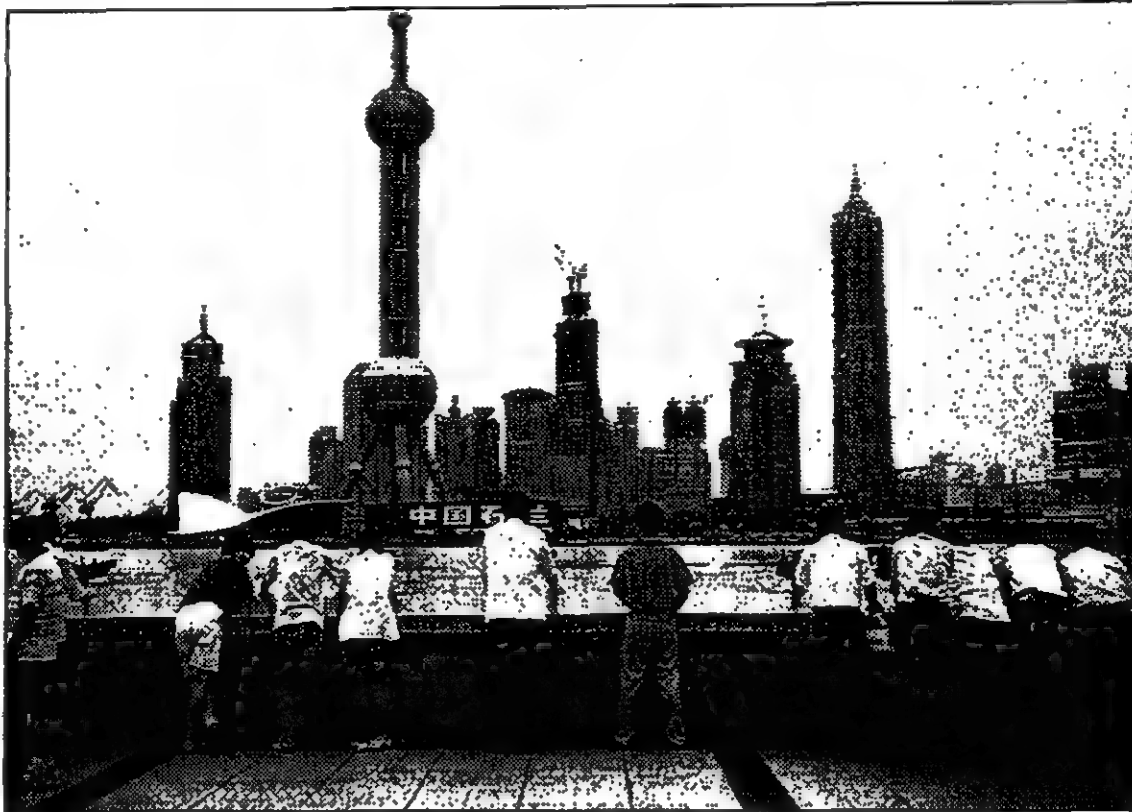
company swamped by debt, heightened concern about the vulnerability of China's rickety financial system, already burdened by insolvent banks.

Yet Chinese consumers are still spending, construction teams are still working 24-hour shifts and planners are moving ahead with hugely ambitious development plans. Despite all the ominous reminders of the dangers attending the nation's wrenching shift from a planned economy to a market economy, there is reason for optimism that the economy will grow in the immediate future.

### Room to Grow

In essence, China has escaped the worst ravages of Asia's financial crisis because it is still so far behind the rest of the world in its efforts to create a modern economy; with a striving population of 1.2 billion people, it has a per capita income of only about \$350 a year.

Its incomplete economic transition is, oddly enough, something of a blessing now. For one thing, China's currency is not freely traded, so speculation isn't a big problem. For another, its main stock markets are closed to foreign investors and are thus immune to the large-scale withdrawals of capital that have plagued other Asian countries. Virtually all of China's banks are run by the state, and though they are deeply in debt, the banks face no shareholder pressure to account for bad loans.



People in Shanghai gazing across the Huangpu River at the planned financial mecca of Pudong.

"They're still way behind, so they've got a lot of easy catching up to do," said Brewer Stone, head of investment banking in Asia for Prudential Securities.

There is vast potential for improving the efficiency of Chinese companies, Mr. Stone said, as well as for creating new products that Chinese consumers do not yet have.

Citing one example, Mr. Stone pointed to a Chinese company called Haier, which has built a remarkably successful refrigerator

and household appliance business stressing follow-up service. At a time when multinational companies are scaling back their operations in Asia, Haier is planning a big expansion into the personal computer market.

### Keeping Promises

"I'm a lot less bullish on China after what has happened over the past year," Mr. Stone said. "But the bottom line is that China still

has much to do in terms of productivity gains."

Within China, there is a debate about whether the leadership will be able to achieve the 8 percent growth rate that they have promised. With a restructuring of state-owned companies turning millions of urban workers out in the streets, any serious slowdown could have potentially disastrous consequences.

Beijing's leaders say they are planning a \$1 trillion public works program to keep the economy growing at a time when exports to neighboring Asian countries are falling sharply. Whether or not they succeed, signs point to enough pent-up demand among China's consumers to keep things humming for a while.

General Motors has made a big bet with its plant in Pudong, and plans to start assembling sedans there later this year. Although it is debatable how much demand there will be for an expensive luxury car in a market where both companies and individuals have limited spending power, overall car sales are still climbing 4 percent this year. And G.M. is looking for another project to invest in, expecting the market for small cars to grow even faster than for larger sedans.

"If you look at China as an emerging market, although maybe not as bright as it looked two years ago, it still looks very stable," said Larry Zahner, president of General Motors China.

## Stopping A Panic

Continued from Page 9

Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve and no stranger to odd things that happen when a herd mentality takes hold.

The new architecture everyone is talking about is supposed to quell this kind of flight for the exits — first by setting up a system of global smoke detectors that would sound whenever a country was courting financial trouble, and then by setting up a system of common rules so investors would know that bad debt problems, if they arise, would be dealt with sensibly.

The thinking is that if all nations and their biggest corporations are required to reveal far more data to investors, people might think twice about how much money they pour in. And building some common legal standards for dealing with bad debts, bankruptcies and defaults could prevent a wild stampede for the exits as soon as a crisis breaks out.

But creating these systems takes time. It took America and Europe most of this century to figure out how to regulate the markets — and it is still a work in progress, as the near-collapse of a giant hedge fund, Long-Term Capital Management, proved just a few weeks ago. Getting nations new to market capitalism to embrace these rules could take decades. But the crisis is now.

In ordinary times, the process of restoring confidence — a psychological feat as much as an economic one — and persuading people to put their money to work again would be hard enough. But these days it is made even harder by something that markets and investors hate — political uncertainty, as far as the eye can see.

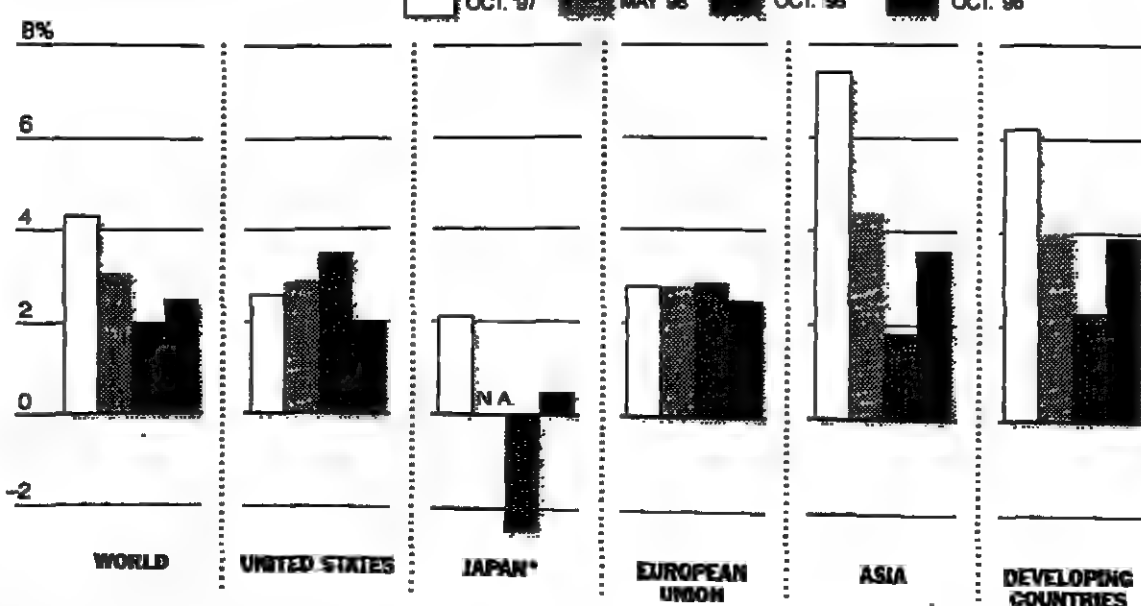
The financial ministers here were treated to the extraordinary experience of debating the future of the world economy face-to-face with a President who was in the opening phase of what promises to be a long impeachment inquiry. "You might find that

## Let's Try That Again

Rapidly changing economic conditions, particularly in Asia, have forced the International Monetary Fund to alter its predictions of how fast the global economy would grow in 1998.

Here are its predictions for various regions made in October 1997, May 1998 and earlier this month as well as its latest predictions of economic growth in 1999.

\*The I.M.F. made no projection in its May report for the change in Japan's 1998 economic growth.



spend more time figuring out ways to save the world economy if he was not also trying to save his job."

But Europe has its own distractions: a change of Government in Germany and a preoccupation with monetary union, a process that could be undermined if a world recession sets in. Japan was here to reassure the world — again — that after seven years of dithering, it finally understands that its fast-sinking banking system is sucking down its neighbors as well. But ask Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, and he responds in a tone of I'll-believe-it-when-I-see-it. Add to this the first big investment-house collapse in China, more anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia, and a fraying, nuclear-equipped Russia that can't decide whether failed capitalism is better or worse than failed Communism.

### Looking for Vision

"In times of uncertainty, when you have a

with the vision and the reach to act globally," said Kenneth Courtis, the chief economist in Asia for Deutsche Bank. "And yet every day, you see evidence that everyone is preoccupied — either not interested, or interested and unable to move."

There are some steps that many here thought would help. President Clinton repeated his call for a global movement to promote growth, chiefly by cutting interest rates. He was talking largely about Europe, but Germany spent the week resisting; it is traditionally preoccupied by inflation, even though the threat to the world these days is deflation. In private, several officials said, Mr. Clinton was fuming.

Some Europeans, the least affected so far by the chaos, remain unconvinced that things are as bad as everyone says: The Swiss finance minister, Kaspar Villiger, complained that the problem was in everyone's heads, and that "many speakers tend to over-dramatize the situation."

Mr. Clinton had another idea: Change the

some fundamentally healthy countries like Brazil before the tornado strikes, in hopes that this will lessen the chances that investors will panic and pull out.

Nonetheless, the scope of Mr. Clinton's ideas left other countries underwhelmed, and wondering whether the President, distracted and weakened, has the power to do what he insists the United States must do: Lead the way out of the crisis. His two speeches to the finance ministers lacked any proposals that involved spending American taxpayers' money, because he was still arguing with Congress over coughing up \$18 billion that the United States has already committed to the nearly broke L.M.F.

The dispute between Congress and the L.M.F. has frozen other action. For example, Mr. Rubin is debating whether to use billions of dollars under his control as an American contribution to a pool of money to shore up Brazil. But Congress was outraged when that money was tapped for Mexico in 1995 (it has since been repaid) and the White House is in

But the United States is hardly the only country where domestic politics make it hard to turn the Titanic away from the icebergs. Japan's opposition fears that the Government will use billions of taxpayer dollars to bail out its biggest banks, without firing the managers who created the mess, or assuring that the shareholders lose their investment. And the banks would rather go under slowly than commit ritual suicide. With the world's second-largest economy remaining frozen, the rest of the world is reluctant to lend the banks more money, though there were signs last week that a logjam in the fragmented Parliament might be breaking.

Then there are the Russians, who have told the L.M.F. how little they think of its economic reform plans, while a new Government prints money to pay off pensioners and the military. But Russia is running out of real money, and a senior L.M.F. official notes that Russia is essentially blackmailing the West by saying that without L.M.F. aid, political chaos could reign.

### The Bankruptcy Vacuum

But most of the political battles that are compounding the world's economic troubles are far more prosaic — like rewriting bankruptcy laws. Still, they offer a glimpse of why that new international financial architecture could run into some building delays.

Thailand is a good example. This year borrowers there simply stopped paying their debts. But because Thailand has no effective bankruptcy law, Thai companies can delay efforts to liquidate or reorganize them. Essentially, they can hold their lenders at bay for years, while, magically, whatever value is left in their companies gets drained away. Because their money is unrecoverable, Thai banks have stopped lending and the world has stopped lending to Thai banks.

So the L.M.F., as part of its aid package, is requiring Thailand to rewrite its bankruptcy laws on the Western model. But there's a hitch: Many of the legislators are the country's most powerful businessmen. They are resisting, complaining that foreign businesses are snatching up Thailand at fire-sale prices. Which, of course, is exactly what a few savvy American and European companies are trying to do.

It's called capitalism, and it's a lot more than in our minds than in their heads.

سكدا من الامم

On the front lines of the war



# After Prozac: The Race For a New Market Leader

By DAVID J. MORROW

It began one morning 12 years ago, when Matthew, then 24, could barely crawl out of bed. He persevered at podiatry school in Chicago for six months while becoming increasingly nervous and agitated. Finally, he saw a psychiatrist. The diagnosis was chronic depression, and the doctor wrote a prescription for an antidepressant.

Such medications — Prozac, Zoloft and Paxil are the most widely used — have truly been wonder drugs, becoming as much a staple of daily life as Big Macs or Tylenol as they have helped lift the gloom from the lives of many of the nearly 18 million Americans who the National Institute of Mental Health says are affected each year by depression.

But they do not work for everyone. Matthew, who spoke on the condition that his last name not be used, is one of about 3.6 million depressed people who doctors say get no help from existing medications. After spending \$15,000 of his own money on doctor fees and medication to learn only that lithium is white, Depakote orange and Prozac yellow and pale green, Matthew, now a medical technician in Ocean Township, N.J., wonders if he will ever find a cure.

"I'm not that optimistic that a company can develop a drug that can help me," he said, "but I'm willing to wait and see."

He may not have to wait long. Sometime in the next five years — perhaps as soon as 2001 — Eli Lilly & Company's patents on Prozac will expire, and Lilly and a half-dozen other giant pharmaceutical companies each are spending hundreds of millions of dollars in the hope of developing the drug that supplants Prozac as the market leader.

Sales of antidepressants, meanwhile, are expected to reach \$8 billion in the United States at about the time Lilly loses its exclusive rights to Prozac. So, "there clearly is a lot at stake here," said Bruce L. Downey, the chief executive of Barr Laboratories, a drug maker involved in a legal fight with Lilly over the right to produce a generic version of Prozac. Speaking of Barr's fight with Lilly — but in a comment that could refer to the whole, bruising race — he added, "I can guarantee you that in this battle, no stone will be left unturned."

Still, it is not guaranteed that the Next Big Thing in antidepressants will be a boon for the industry — or even much help for people like Matthew. Many industry analysts say they expect that any new brand-name best seller will be a drug that is no more effective than Prozac, but simply has fewer side effects. Moreover, the introduction of generic Prozac may lead cost-cutting managed health care companies to require doctors to prescribe it rather than the more expensive antidepressants under development.

Either of those scenarios would fall short of the hopes of many doctors. To satisfy them, the ultimate antidepressant would work immediately in every patient, have no side effects and allow patients to follow simple dosage regimens. It could also be given to manic-depressives without causing a manic episode.

"People are used to taking Tylenol and feeling better shortly thereafter, not weeks later," said Dr. Steven E. Hyman, director of the National Institute of Mental Health. "If someone is suicidal, you may not have weeks."

It is unclear which, if any, of the drugs under development will be Dr. Hyman's aspirin for depression. Some drug makers are taking entirely new approaches to combating depression; the entries from Novartis, Warner-Lambert and Pfizer are so young they have yet to be named. In

any event, drugs from giant companies are akin to children of blue-blood families: they tend to succeed even when they are mediocre.

The market is certainly enormous; this year, sales of antidepressants in the United States are expected to hit \$6.3 billion, according to IMS Health, a health care consulting firm. Depression costs American businesses \$23 billion a year in lost work time and productivity, according to the National Foundation for Depressive Illness, making it one of the nation's most expensive ailments. It is also one of the most painful. People who cannot be helped by medication are often forced to live with insomnia, fatigue and a pervasive feeling of despair.

## Strategies For Enduring 'Year X'

Lilly's corporate headquarters in Indianapolis is on the front lines of the antidepressant battle. Walk into just about any meeting room there, and one is likely to find executives scratching their heads over how to survive "Year X" — when Prozac loses its patent protections.

Exactly when that will happen is unclear, because the separate patents on the drug's chemical makeup and how it works with a chemical in the brain expire three years apart, beginning in 2001. Barr Laboratories has applied to the Food and Drug Administration to make a generic Prozac, and Lilly has sued, contending patent infringement.

Such legal battles can last for years — particularly when a product as valuable as Prozac is at stake. Seldom has one brand been so central to a company's success. This year, Prozac will contribute nearly 30 percent of Lilly's estimated \$10 billion in worldwide sales, making it one of the best-selling drugs ever.

To replace the revenue that will be lost once Prozac's patents expire, Lilly plans to introduce several new drugs, including two antidepressants and a compound that would relieve the complications of diabetes.

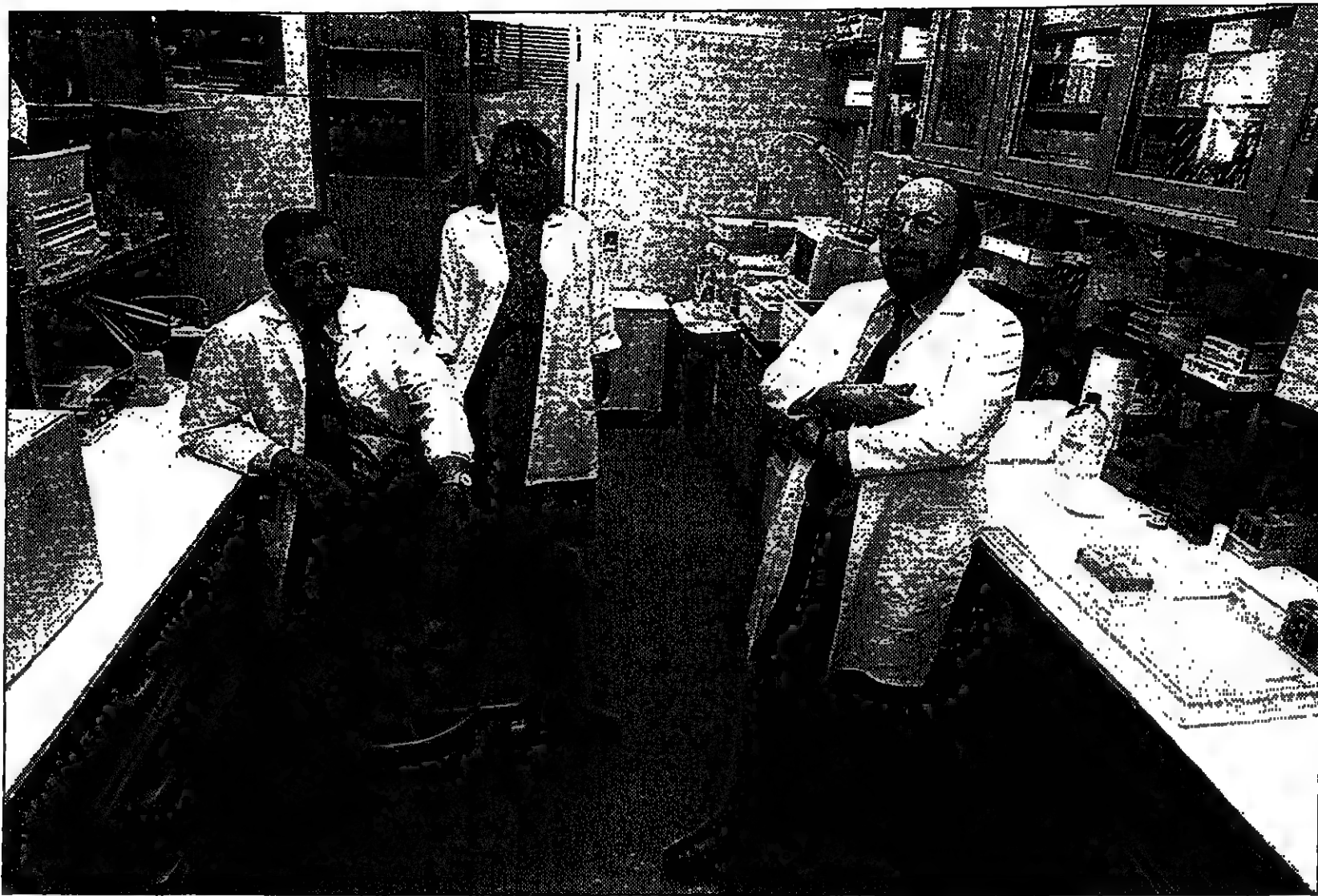
"We have plenty of strategies in place to prosper in Year X," said Sidney Taurel, Lilly's chief executive. "The worst scenario that I'm expecting is for earnings gains to fall into the single digits during Year X, and then climb back to double digits the year after."

If the company falls short, however, investors may want a word with Mr. Taurel. Many analysts contend that the race to supplant Prozac should never have begun. Instead, they say, Lilly should have maintained its stranglehold by developing a replacement for Prozac sooner.

"Several pharmaceutical companies have had a problem replacing the drug that made them famous," said Neil Sweig, a pharmaceutical analyst with Southeast Research Partners, an investment research firm. "It's a hard thing to do. One thing in Lilly's favor, though, is that none of the antidepressants that have come out recently are better than Prozac. This is a fight that is just beginning."

For Lilly shareholders, the big question is how soon Year X will arrive. Mr. Sweig forecasts that Lilly earnings will rise to \$2.958 billion in 2000, up nearly 70 percent, excluding extraordinary charges, from last year's levels. If Prozac has no generic competition in 2001, he says, Lilly's earnings will increase 16 percent in 2001 and 15 percent more in 2002. But if generics are able to eat away 50 percent of Prozac's sales, Mr. Sweig says Lilly's earnings will be flat in 2001 before falling about 15 percent a year later.

The introduction of Prozac in 1988 ushered in a new class of drugs that



Merck is among the companies working on development of Substance P blockers as a class of antidepressants. Three scientists who have worked on the project — Dr. Scott Rienes, left, Sharon J. Sadowski and Dr. Mark Kramer — were in the Merck biochemistry lab in Rahway, N.J., last week.

were much more effective and had fewer side effects than older antidepressants like Elavil and Tofranil. The new drugs, selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors, or S.S.R.I.'s, bolster serotonin, a brain chemical believed to be deficient in some depressed people. The drugs they largely displaced, a class called tricyclics, also bolster the levels of serotonin and norepinephrine, another brain chemical, but sometimes cause severe side effects.

No one, including Lilly's top executives, could have predicted Prozac's effect. In less than 10 years, it played a large role in making depression a socially acceptable illness.

## Wild Success To Mild Complacency

In 1988, only 130.7 million prescriptions were written in the United States for psychotherapeutics, which include antidepressants, antipsychotic and anti-anxiety drugs. Prozac, or fluoxetine hydrochloride, had 1.45 million of the total, according to IMS Health. By last year, the category had expanded to 232.6 million prescriptions, with Prozac contributing \$88 million.

With that success, it appears, it was easy for Lilly to get complacent. "It is a valid criticism that we have a gap in our pipeline," said Dr. August M. Watanabe, executive vice president for science and technology at Lilly. "But the reason we call Prozac's expiration Year X is because we are not certain when it is. And we may have plenty of time to develop new drugs."

Lilly has several options to protect Prozac's market, but none are easy. Industry analysts have long expected the company to license a new version of Prozac from Sepracor Inc., a specialty pharmaceutical company in Marlborough, Mass., known for improving existing drugs

largely by eliminating their side effects. Such a deal, analysts say, could secure Lilly's franchise, minimizing any potential loss of sales.

Lilly's chief executive, Mr. Taurel, declined to discuss the likelihood of an agreement with Sepracor, and Sepracor officials also declined, perhaps because no alliance is in the offing. Last week, David P. Southwell, Sepracor's chief financial officer, said the company was pondering several options for its purified form of Prozac. Sepracor itself might market the drug, for example, or the company could license it to one of Lilly's rivals, including Schering-Plough or Johnson & Johnson.

"We have 65 salespeople now," Mr. Southwell said. "We didn't have any two months ago. When we looked at the revenue stream — we try to get royalties from our products instead of taking cash up front — we discovered we'd make more money selling it with this little sales force than if we licensed it to another company. But we are studying several possibilities."

Another potential problem for Lilly is Barr's challenge on the Prozac patents. If Barr is successful, it will be allowed to sell a generic version of the drug exclusively for six months before other competitors can crowd in. Mr. Downey expects generic Prozac to take 75 percent of the brand's sales — about \$2.25 billion — in those first six months on the market.

Mr. Taurel dismissed the notion that Lilly could lose Prozac's patents before 2003. But if he thought he might lose to Barr in court, he probably could afford to buy himself a little leeway. Because Barr is relatively tiny, with only \$377 million in annual sales, analysts have long speculated that Lilly could settle the dispute, giving Barr a cash payment of \$50 million or so and the right to make generic Prozac sometime before 2003, but not as soon as if Barr had prevailed in court.

However, a settlement appears unlikely. Mr. Downey, who spent 25 years as a trial lawyer, said on Friday: "My goal is to win and launch. If there is a settlement, that will be up to the other side." Mr. Taurel declined to comment.

Any deal-making that sustains Prozac's hold on the marketplace could leave many psychiatrists dissatisfied. Although doctors generally agree that S.S.R.I.'s are the best antidepressants yet, they have complaints about every drug in the category — Prozac in particular.

Paxil, by SmithKline Beecham; Zoloft, Pfizer's entry in the category, and Celexa, a new S.S.R.I. by Warner-Lambert and Forest Laboratories, can take as long as five weeks to take full effect. Prozac can, too — but it takes as long as four weeks to wash out of a patient's bloodstream after use is discontinued, meaning that doctors must wait that long before prescribing another drug. Prozac can also cause anxiety at first use.

Moreover, all four drugs, which together control about 96 percent of the American antidepressant market, can cause sexual dysfunction. Adding to that misery, S.S.R.I.'s have no therapeutic effect in 20 percent of all cases and cannot always be safely taken with several other commonly used medications.

## Perhaps a Cure For Colds, Too?

Prozac "has not always been ef-

fective with people in the middle," said Dr. Donald Klein, director of research at the New York State Psychiatric Institute. "But Prozac is very effective with people in the middle."

Few drug makers can afford to stumble in the race for a new best-selling antidepressant. Investors have come to expect quarterly earnings gains of 20 percent or higher from the big pharmaceutical companies, leaving little room to write off hundreds of millions of dollars in research and development costs for a drug that does not work.

To avoid such losses, drug companies try to develop multiple uses for a single compound. The trailblazer in this regard was Glaxo Wellcome's antidepressant Wellbutrin, which last year also began sales as Zyban, a smoking-cessation medication. With Prozac coming off patent, Lilly has learned to play this game, too. One of its two new antidepressants is also under development as a treatment for incontinence, an ailment that appears to be medically unrelated. The drug, duloxetine, is expected to be released in 2001 as an anti-incontinence pill and a year later as an antidepressant.

## Drug makers are in a hot race to develop new antidepressants.

Some Lilly rivals say that the plans for duloxetine are a sign of desperation — that it is a lackluster antidepressant being trotted out to market only because the company lacked a more formidable replacement for Prozac. Lilly officials acknowledge that they took another look at duloxetine because of the approach of Year X, but they say later, more accurate tests proved the drug a more effective antidepressant than had been originally believed.

Lilly says it also hopes that duloxetine will take effect more quickly than Prozac. But it is unlikely to be as popular. Dr. Watanabe described duloxetine as similar to Effexor, the new antidepressant of American Home Products. Yet, Effexor has earned less than 4 percent of the national antidepressant market since its introduction in 1993. The problem, doctors say, is that when patients are satisfied with an antidepressant they often refuse to switch, even to something better.

Lilly's other new antidepressant is a combination of Prozac and Zyprexa, its enormously successful antipsychotic drug. In a pilot study of 30 people who had been treated unsuccessfully with two antidepressants, one group received Prozac, another was given a placebo and a third group was given the Prozac-Zyprexa combination. The group receiving the combination had a sharply higher response, Lilly discovered, than those who had been given Prozac alone or a placebo.

But the F.D.A. gives closer scrutiny to any combination of drugs because of possible interactions, so combining Zyprexa with Prozac could invite regulatory delay.

Two other drugs under development appear to offer more hope of

dependently, Merck and Novartis are among the companies working on one of them, which would introduce a new class of antidepressant.

Instead of raising levels of certain chemicals in the brain, as the S.S.R.I.'s and other antidepressants do, this type of drug blocks receptors of a chemical, known as Substance P, that is believed to affect depression. Scientists discovered that by blocking the Substance P receptors, they might treat everything from migraines to anxiety.

In the initial phases of trials on humans, Merck's drug has shown promising results. In a recent six-week study, 213 people with moderate to severe depression were given the Substance P blocker, a placebo or Paxil. Merck's drug reduced depression as effectively as Paxil, without many of the side effects — notably sexual dysfunction.

"It's a novel way of treating depression, but we are still in the early days of the program," said Dr. Scott Rienes, vice president for clinical research at Merck. "It's too early to tell if it will work with severely depressed people. And there's no way we can say when it will be coming out."

The other contender appears to be Sepracor's new purified Prozac compound, even though some doctors are skeptical about its effectiveness. The drug has two enormous advantages: It will always be known as improved Prozac, regardless of which company sells it. And it has a better chance of approval by the F.D.A., given that the original version of Prozac has been safely administered to millions of patients in the last 10 years.

"Hopefully, it will be a quicker wash-out and substantially less drug-to-drug interaction," Mr. Southwell, the Sepracor official, said.

Still, the company that develops the next big antidepressant must be able to sell it. Sepracor's sales force of 65 is hardly competition for Lilly's troop of 2,400.

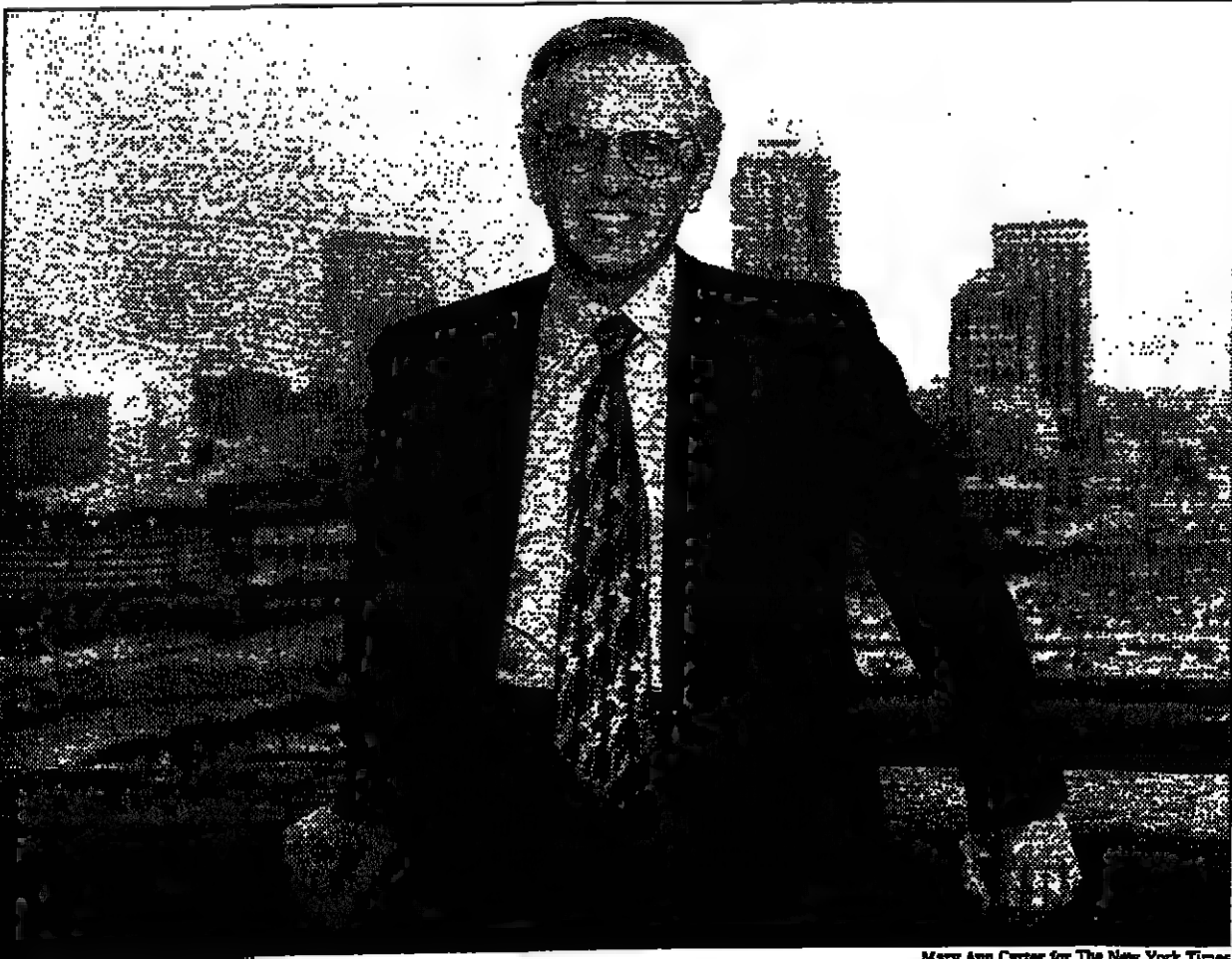
Now that the F.D.A. is permitting direct-to-consumer advertisements of prescription drugs, any major pharmaceutical company could drum up a market for a new antidepressant with a big advertising campaign. Sepracor lacks the deep pockets for that, but Johnson & Johnson and Schering-Plough, with which Sepracor may reach a licensing deal, are both shrewd TV marketers.

Schering used television ads to build a market for its Claritin antihistamine, which is expected to have \$3 billion in sales this year, with 58 percent of the American antihistamine market. Johnson & Johnson is one of the best known and respected consumer brands in the world.

Lilly, by contrast, with far less background in consumer marketing, ran its first television ads on depression two months ago. But Mr. Taurel says he is ready to take more risks and may advertise more of the company's wares where appropriate, to prop up Lilly's sales.

Doctors are watching the corporate dogfight with amusement. Lilly had no clue that Prozac would be such a success, and the owner of the next giant antidepressant will probably not instantly grasp the value of its test-tube contents, either.

"You may never know where the next antidepressant may come from," Dr. Hyman said. "So don't be so leery of a drug that is an antidepressant now when it was originally created to treat something else. One of the first antidepressants, ipro-



Mary Ann Carter for The New York Times

On the front lines of the antidepressant battle at Eli Lilly headquarters in Indianapolis, chief executive Sidney



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## Coping With Economic Crisis

The world's economic situation is perilous, and there is little doubt that there will be pain and suffering in many countries during the next few years. But the problems need not lead to world recession, let alone depression. With time and wisdom, the problems can be overcome.

The gathering in Washington of the world's financial leaders last week proved to be long on alarming rhetoric and short on action. The dismal forecasts contrasted sharply with what the visiting central bankers and finance ministers could see around them in a prosperous country where it is lies, not layoffs, that dominate the news. But the United States is beginning to feel effects of the Asian collapse, particularly in manufacturing, and has reason to worry as Latin American economies are damaged by high interest rates imposed to slow the exodus of foreign investors. Similarly, Western Europe's export-led growth is threatened.

It is easy — and partly correct — to blame market excesses for the problem. Investors poured money into emerging markets with little concern for risk, and then fled when the Asian crisis and Russia's default led to large losses.

Only now are we learning the extent that leverage — that is, borrowed money — fueled the great bull market of the 1990's. The collapse of John Martiwether's Long-Term Capital hedge fund opened eyes, and there are likely to be more surprises, and failures, as the leverage is unwound. That means financial markets probably will continue to have a bumpy ride, but in some ways this is good news. Much of the leverage came from speculators borrowing Japanese yen and investing the money in other countries. Now those yen are being repaid, pushing up the value of the yen and easing the pressure on Asian currencies.

While there are no magic wands, and the process will be slow, necessary steps to protect the world economy have emerged. Pro-growth policies will be needed in Europe and the United States. Central banks will have to lower interest rates, and major countries may have to cut taxes or raise spending to provide fiscal stimulus. Fiscal reforms are required in Latin America, particularly in Brazil. Countries that had relied on overseas investors to finance large trade and budget deficits must deal with a newly hostile investment climate.

Adequate resources must be provided for the International Monetary Fund. With private capital running scared, the role of public money is all the more important. Some of it will be needed to alleviate suffering in poor countries.

Some countries that have tied their currencies to the dollar will have to let them float. There are

advantages to fixed exchange rates, but over time they can create imbalances that lead to big — and unforeseen — currency moves that can devastate economies and businesses.

Finally, Japan, which has fallen into a deep recession, must reform its banking system and stimulate its economy. But even if Japan makes the necessary changes, it will take years for its financial system to recover from a mountain of bad loans, and growth may be sluggish. The world will have to get along without a Japanese engine.

At the same time, there are some policy prescriptions that should be avoided. The United States is running a huge trade deficit, as exports to Asia fall. There are cries for protectionism, particularly in steel and agriculture, that must be resisted. The trade deficit is a major reason that the dollar has started to decline, a fall that will help to ameliorate the problem over time.

A weaker dollar can lead to higher reported inflation. If it does, that will not be a good reason for the Federal Reserve to back off from trying to stimulate the economy. It is deflation, not inflation, that threatens the world now, and that will not change until low commodity prices begin to move up in a convincing way.

It is tempting for countries that have been buffeted by international capital flows to adopt capital controls, and they conceivably could help by giving a country breathing room. But they will work only if the countries involved use the respite to pursue good policies. That does not seem to be happening in Malaysia, whose Government appears more interested in repression than reform.

There is nothing new about markets going to excess, with bouts of unrestrained enthusiasm followed by equally irrational fear. World growth in the mid-1990's was pumped up artificially by floods of capital into countries and companies that were ill equipped to handle them. Now world growth is likely to be held back by fearful investors and by stringent credit standards imposed by banks newly concerned about the risk of loss. That is unfortunate, but it is something that can be dealt with if countries pursue growth-oriented strategies.

It is obviously true that market failures were a prime cause of the world's problems, and improved regulatory mechanisms should be sought. But no one should forget the benefits that markets have brought to world growth, and will bring again when investor fear subsides. A return to allowing governments to allocate capital would be no improvement. To paraphrase Winston Churchill, markets are the worst way to allocate capital — except all those other ways that have been tried from time to time.

## The Surge in Teen Smoking

New data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention show that teen smoking rates are soaring. In 1988, 700,000 teen-agers under 18 became daily smokers. Less than a decade later, in 1996, the number of teens who became daily smokers had risen to 1.2 million. Two-thirds of the people who took up daily smoking that year were under the age of 18. These grim numbers show just how successful the tobacco industry has been in making its products attractive to the high school set.

This disastrous trend will not reverse itself without strong curbs on tobacco marketing and sharp increases in cigarette prices, two strategies that health experts say are crucial to reducing youth consumption. But the Republican Congress, unwilling to break free of the well-financed tobacco lobby, refused to approve legisla-

tion this year that would have used these strategies.

A tentative deal negotiated by some state attorneys general with the tobacco companies to settle state lawsuits against the industry also appears inadequate to combat teen smoking. Early reports suggest that the settlement would require the industry to pay more than \$200 billion to the states over 25 years, but this would not necessarily translate into higher per-pack prices. The biggest manufacturers may simply absorb the new costs rather than drive away their youngest customers. Billboard ads and promotional gifts would be banned, but advertising with figures like the Marlboro Man, which are popular with teen-agers, would still be allowed. Given the new data on smoking rates, any deal accepted by the attorneys general must make reducing teen smoking its primary goal.

Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

## Presenting President Clinton's New Best Friend

Early in this election season, a consultant for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone used a focus group to test Mr. Vallone's potential as a gubernatorial candidate. Kevin McCabe, Mr. Vallone's top aide, reported that the focus group initially felt the Speaker was "a nice guy who'd been around too long." But, Mr. McCabe added triumphantly, once shown extensive information on Mr. Vallone's accomplishments, the group saw the error of its ways and announced that he was an excellent public official who just needed more publicity.

Grasping onto reeds like this, and with the faithful Mr. McCabe at his side, Mr. Vallone jumped into the race. But cynics have always had doubts about that focus group — mainly because it seemed extraordinary that there were that many average citizens in New York who knew enough about Peter Vallone to feel they were tired of him.

Now that he is the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, it appears that virtually the only people in the state familiar with Mr. Vallone were the ones in that group. A month before the election, Mr. Vallone was

### Heard the one about politics making strange bedfellows?

York Times/CBS News Poll said they did not know anything about Mr. Vallone. Twenty-eight percent claimed to know enough to have an opinion but did not know exactly what that opinion was. This is no way to win an election, and sure enough, Mr. Vallone is trailing the incumbent, George Pataki, by about 28 points. "We got Pataki where we want him," cried Mr. McCabe, who has a well-honed, if occasionally dark, sense of humor.

All of which gets us to Mr. Vallone's ads, in which he becomes perhaps the first post-Lewinsky candidate in the country to wrap himself around Bill Clinton. "I think it's time someone stood up for President Clinton," the candidate tells the camera, urging the Republicans to let Mr. Clinton alone "for the good of our hearts and for the good of our country."

man who is not exactly a phrasemaker. But the main message is that Governor Pataki, in concert with Senator Alfonse D'Amato and Republicans in general, is "determined to bring the President down, even if it means hurting the country."

Governors do not actually have a whole lot to do with the impeachment process, and it is unlikely that the President has Mr. Pataki on his enemies list. On a pure issue level, Mr. Vallone might just as well do ads on Japan's banking crisis. But his strategy does make some political sense. For Mr. Vallone, anything that attracts attention is a help. "If people don't want to listen about tax reform and health care, you have to get in the game somehow," says Mr. McCabe.

Most of the nation's Democrats worry that their voters will be too disheartened to vote this November while the Republican core skips happily to the polls. But New York, as usual, is not quite the rest of the country. In the dead-heat race between Senator D'Amato and Representative Charles Schumer, the Times poll suggested that supporters of Mr. Schumer, the Democrat, were the more energized. Mr. Clinton's

## Kosovo War Crimes Cannot Stand

To the Editor:

President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia has declared that Kosovo is off limits to investigators from the war crimes tribunal in The Hague (news article, Oct. 8). Mr. Milosevic does not have the power to determine the jurisdiction of the tribunal; that power lies with the United Nations Security Council and the tribunal's chief prosecutor, Louise Arbour.

When the Security Council established the tribunal in 1993, it granted the tribunal the power to prosecute individuals responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law "in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991." In June Ms. Arbour declared that an armed conflict existed in Kosovo and that the law of war applied in that region.

If the tribunal is to achieve the respect it needs to fulfill its mandate, a good place to start would be to invite Mr. Milosevic to The Hague to meet Ms. Arbour and explain his activities in Kosovo and Bosnia since 1991. KATHERINE GALLAGHER New York, Oct. 9, 1998

To the Editor:

The fact that United States and NATO intervention in the Balkans will entail an extensive commitment is due to a pervasive unwillingness to address the sources of the problems at hand (front page, Oct. 4).

Asserting that "American and other NATO-led troops [in Bosnia] have done what they were sent to do" ignores the fact that timid NATO commanders have narrowly interpreted the scope of their mission. By failing to aggressively facilitate refugee returns and arrest leading indicted war criminals, NATO's Stabilization Force has stunted the creation of conditions necessary for exit.

NATO forces are deployed in Bosnia today and are likely to be deployed in Kosovo because the United States failed to lead its allies in the use of limited air power to check Serbian aggression in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991-92, before genocide occurred. Should the West again fail to follow through on military threats to stop Serbia, the costs of intervention will rise. KURT BASSUENER Washington, Oct. 7, 1998

To the Editor:

We should intervene militarily to make a political settlement in Kosovo (news article, Oct. 8). Ideally, we would be able to use United Nations forces. However, we have weakened the United Nations to the point where we must use more of our own forces. Bill Clinton's proposal of a standing

United Nations peacekeeping force when he ran for President in 1992 is an idea whose time has come.

Unfortunately, Congress's State Department authorization bill, which would provide United Nations' financing, requires that all peacekeeping missions be carried out by organizations other than the United Nations. This is undesirable, and Mr. Clinton is right to reject it. We need to have a national dialogue on how best to have peacekeeping take place in the world. ROBERT GRIFFIN Forty Fort, Pa., Oct. 8, 1998

To the Editor:

While NATO threatens to attack Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic is one step ahead (front page, Oct. 6). Maybe he is pulling back some troops from Kosovo, but his barracks are there and in no time troops can be ordered to attack again. All the international community is doing is allowing Mr. Milosevic to rest and prepare for another attack.

Again, we are standing by as Mr. Milosevic continues his acts of genocide, ethnic cleansing and mass murder. ARTA HAKHAJ Brooklyn, Oct. 7, 1998

To the Editor:

When the only choice is for or against bombing, a whole range of options has already been eliminated (news article, Oct. 8). Such lack of foresight brought us to this precipice. Slobodan Milosevic, while responsible for creating a repressive police state in Kosovo, should not also be made a scapegoat for inept policymakers and piecemeal negotiations. The latter are every bit as responsible for the situation in Kosovo today. GEORGIA KELLY Sonoma, Calif., Oct. 8, 1998



## Impeachment Inquiry Won't Help Us Abroad

To the Editor:

The concept of overturning a Presidential election through a one-sided "judicial" inquiry and an impeachment process (front page, Oct. 8) has side-railled essential legislative business (campaign finance and health care reform).

The notion of our Government's stability now appears in question. For 200 years our Constitution, with its provisions for an orderly system of elections and a balance of power among the executive, legislative and judicial branches as a safe harbor, attracted capital to the United States for investment and safekeeping.

Rather than bringing foreign capital to our shores and preserving prosperity, the Republicans' present efforts are sully this safe, stable, constitutional harbor and can only succeed in bringing the worsening worldwide recession to America next. CARL I. SCHWARTZ New York, Oct. 9, 1998

### No Time Limits

To the Editor:

Vic Fazio (Op-Ed, Oct. 8) and other Clinton apologists, because they cannot defend the President's behavior, attack anyone who opposes Mr. Clinton. They advocate a limited time and scope for the impeachment

process, no doubt remembering how they contended the Thompson hearings on the illegal campaign contributions by Chinese nationals to the Democrats.

People fled the country and others took the Fifth. Democrats like John Glenn stonewalled until the time limit arrived. I think they are afraid of more information becoming available about Mr. Clinton's behavior.

On one point I agree with the Democrats. While I, too, am tired of hearing about Mr. Clinton's behavior, I would urge Congress to conclude the hearings with dispatch. However, they should be unconstrained by artificial time limits. The wrongdoings that Mr. Clinton has admitted to are more than grounds for impeachment.

I hope that many of those who are blindly loyal to Mr. Clinton will realize that betrayal of the public trust combined with criminal behavior is cause for impeachment. Impeachment proceedings, unconstrained by artificial limits, are the right thing to do. GEORGE L. GUNDERMAN Florence, Ala., Oct. 8, 1998

### Plain-Citizen Standard

To the Editor:

You write (editorial, Oct. 9) that "where plain citizens are prosecuted for lying, there cannot be a special standard for Presidents who lie under oath." That is most certainly true. But then has there ever been a single case in the history of American law in which a plain citizen has been prosecuted for perjury regarding inadmissible evidence in a dismissed civil case?

If so, who, when and where was that plain citizen? If not, then why is this extraordinary exception to our standard of prosecution O.K. with you when applied to the President's case? BROOKE C. STEVENS Pine Plains, N.Y., Oct. 9, 1998

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## THE JERUSALEM POST

### Managed Care Plans Shirk Their Duty

To the Editor:

Re "Clinton to Intervene as H.M.O.'s Exit Medicare" (news article, Oct. 8): Health maintenance organizations (H.M.O.s) have been collecting premiums from the Government. Now, after receiving payment, H.M.O.s are trying to extricate themselves from what they claim is an unprofitable deal.

While President Clinton will encourage new H.M.O.s to enter the country from which other health plans are departing, doctors in private practice stand ready to accept Medicare, Medicaid and other Government and private insurance, and will be happy to rid themselves and the public of the profiteering middlemen, the health maintenance organizations. ROBERT WEISS, M.D. Bethpage, N.Y., Oct. 8, 1998

To the Editor:

At the end of the year New York City will implement a plan requiring Medicaid recipients to enroll in managed care plans (front page, Oct. 7). Approximately one-fifth of the city's nonelderly population is on Medicaid.

Your article cites surveys that indicate that both doctors' offices and health maintenance organizations "lack the proper technical systems to monitor care." This deficiency in care will surely compromise the quality of services for the state's poor population.

This should come as no surprise. When profit is the motive, those who cannot afford the cost of other insurance suffer. The only true revolution in health care policy is not managed care but a Government-sponsored single-payer plan. DAVE SILVER New York, Oct. 7, 1998

To the Editor:

As a doctor I'm not surprised that health maintenance organizations are withdrawing from covering patients who receive Medicare (news article, Oct. 8). Medical care for the elderly is unpredictable and expensive.

Sarah A. Stesz, a spokeswoman for the Allina H.M.O., complains that "reimbursement rates don't cover our costs." Reimbursements from Medicare and H.M.O.s haven't covered doctors' costs for years. We just work harder and earn less money.

If H.M.O.s and doctors are businesses, and H.M.O.s are allowed to drop Medicare because it doesn't cover their costs, are doctors allowed to drop Medicare without penalties because it doesn't cover their costs? JAMES A. SLATER, M.D. New Canaan, Conn., Oct. 8, 1998

To the Editor:

After years of interfering in doctor-patient relations, exacerbating the problem of the uninsured, denying responsibility for medical education and research and rationing health care, health maintenance organizations are refusing to cover the elderly while asking for rate increases (news article, Oct. 8).

How much more evidence do we need before we realize that managed care is a failed system that should be abandoned? CARL WEBER, M.D. White Plains, Oct. 8, 1998

### Contraceptive Care

To the Editor:

That House Republicans are willing to go behind the scenes to strip from Government financing legislation a provision that would provide to female Federal employees coverage for prescription contraceptives is an eye-opener (news article, Oct. 8). The legislation was passed by both houses of Congress; this latest gambit is part of an agenda of anti-abortion advocates who wrongly argue that the pregnancy prevention brought about by contraceptives is equivalent to abortion.

Contraception is unrelated to abortion. This legislation provides no coverage for abortion services. Rather, it offers much-needed coverage and care for prescription contraceptives, an essential part of women's reproductive health. Indeed, it is the stand on this issue that exposes the extreme intentions of the anti-abortion lobby. JANET BENSBOOF New York, Oct. 8, 1998

The writer is president of the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy.

To the Editor:

Contrary to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' assertion (news article, Oct. 2), increased contraceptive use has contributed substantially to the steady decrease in unplanned pregnancy rates in this country. Between 1987 and 1994 alone, the unintended pregnancy rate dropped 16 percent. In addition, the teen-age birth rate, which was at its highest in 1957, when virtually no contraceptives were available to teen-agers, has been declining since 1991, and it dropped 4 percent between 1995 and 1996.

It is clear that increased access to contraception, whether it be through equity in insurance coverage or through confidential and ready availability to teen-agers, is crucial if we want to continue bringing this country's unintended pregnancy rate down. ALEXANDER C. SANGER New York, Oct. 4, 1998

The writer is president, Planned



# How We Fell, Then And Now

By Jay McInerney

**T**he sense of shock is different this time around. The stretch limos, the hubristic shoulder pads and the junk bonds of the 80's were bound to excite the anger of the gods, but hey, we've been riding around in Jeeps and dowsy gray Town Cars for the last 11 years.

We threw away all those big suits in '88, the bonds in our portfolios are AA rated or better, and we never do drugs anymore, at least not in public and hardly ever during the week.

The 90's were the Stealth Decade: tastefully discreet, self-conscious, sober. (Or was that sneaky and hypocritical?) Somehow we imagined that our sport utility vehicles were invisible to the radar of fate, and we can't quite believe we're suddenly taking this heavy incoming fire.

Even those of us who didn't have a dime in the stock market 11 years ago had a weird inkling by the time we woke up on Oct. 20 that something big had happened, that the party might be ending. The model was already in place: once the 80's started getting compared to the 20's the conclusion seemed inevitable.

But the crash of '87 turned out to be more significant symbolically than economically, the slump that followed Black Monday was delayed and relatively benign compared with the one that squelched the roar of the 20's.

My brother, an investment banker, sounded wistful the other day as he recalled the crash of '87. "Eighty-seven was like, if you were on vacation for a week you missed it," he said. "The bond guys did O.K. and things recovered fairly quickly. But this is much more widespread."

Back then I seem to recall a certain masochistic comfort in the notion that the laws of gravity still prevailed; we understood we were being punished for our sins: wretched excess, greed, leverage, trophy wives, nightclubs with exorbitant door policies, post-modern architecture, cocaine, Duran Duran, the culture of Christian Lacroix.

The fact that big sinners like Ivan Boesky and Michael Milken were behind bars made it easier for us to sit out our hangovers in devalued co-op apartments, with those espresso machines that we never really learned how to operate.

And if we were living in Ann Arbor or Altona, we probably didn't even hear the big crash. Back then, not that many Americans owned securities — or a suit with an Armani label.

If the hypertrophied RJR Nabisco deal seemed to symbolize the end of the bad old days, Henry Kravis, the prime mover of that deal, set the tone for the new decade when he replaced ur-trophy wife Carlyne Roehm with an intellectual several

Jay McInerney is the author, most recently, of "Model Behavior."



years her senior. Clearly the 90's were going to be serious and substantive. Red dresses and yellow ties suddenly disappeared. The 80's, in disgrace, were hounded out of town and eventually found a new home across the ocean in London. And we all said we were sorry.

The most surprising thing about the 90's, really, is how long it has taken us to realize that this decade makes its predecessor look innocent and quaint. Even, dare we say it, temperate. After disappearing for a few years, the leveraged buyout came back bigger than ever. And after stumbling along for a while, the Dow Jones industrial average rocketed to heights that would have seemed unimaginable to the putative high fliers of the 80's in their Gulfstream Threes. Martini, anyone? Cohiba Esplendido?

Suddenly everyone, everywhere was getting in on the action, through pension funds or mutual funds. For those who weren't content with a mere 30 percent return on capital, hedge funds came along and made greenmail seem like a piker's game.

Nobody knew how they worked, but the nomenclature was reassuring: "hedge fund" sounded like a conservative, cover-your-bets financial instrument. It rang totally 90's, just as "junk bond," from our 90's perspective, sounds so perfectly, vulgarly 80's. I mean, what did those clowns at Drexel Burnham expect? Six months ago I had dinner with

Until that moment I would never have guessed my dinner partner, whom I had known for five years, was a man of such mind-boggling means. A Stealth tycoon, he kept a low social profile, went to church, remained happily married to his first wife and had affected none of the flamboyant hobbies associated with massive wealth.

In the 90's, new money started behaving like old money, which counts surely as a triumph of style when we compare the current decade with its flashy predecessor. There was a feeling abroad that the lessons of the 80's had been absorbed, even as our expectations became inflated far beyond those of that famously reckless decade. Because we didn't flaunt our winnings, we felt we deserved them. That seems to be part of the reason for the sense of shock and indignation that has spread far beyond Wall Street these past few weeks. We've all become so used to the idea that style is substance — we're indignant that our good manners and our new clothes didn't protect us.

## We shed the 80's glitz. We were punished anyway.

an acquaintance from the financial sector. "To be a player these days," he told me, "you've got to have 100 million." In a tone that suggested he thought the club was getting just a little too democratic, he estimated that there were about 300 such players just on the island of Manhattan.

# Why Does Washington Need Wise Men?

By Kai Bird

**A**t a moment when Washington is obsessed with a constitutional crisis of farcical proportions, it is perhaps understandable that a whiff of nostalgia is felt for the old Establishment.

"This wouldn't have happened in the 'wise men' days," the former Clinton White House aide George Stephanopoulos said. "They would have caught it before it got out." Lloyd Cutler, the former White House counsel and veteran Washington lawyer, wistfully echoed that sentiment. "Back in the days when we were more bipartisan in this city," he said, "we used the 'wise men' approach quite often."

Now that scandal has so severely wounded the Clinton Presidency, why haven't the nation's elder statesmen — men like Mr. Cutler, the longtime Democratic fixer Robert Strauss and former Senator Sam Nunn — been able to meet behind closed doors and broker a deal to save us all from an extended impeachment process?

Those who pine for such a solution may have a somewhat romantic memory for how the old order functioned. The Establishment of John J. McCloy, Robert Lovett, Averell Harriman, Clark Clifford, McGeorge Bundy and Henry Stimson represented a tiny sliver of the East Coast white-male aristocracy.

To be sure, they had a cohesive intellectual vision of America's

role in the world — and for the first two decades of the cold war they were able to manage a semblance of bipartisanship in foreign affairs.

But it was not the wise men who kept John F. Kennedy's sexual escapades, or the fact of his Addison's disease, out of the newspapers. Those were simply different times. The erosion of privacy in the lives of public officials began when the cultural revolution of the 1960's swept the country.

Today, Americans want and expect more information about all as-

## A little less reverence, please, for the best and the brightest.

pects of public life. The information age may be less genteel, but few of us want to return to an era that was far less democratic and inclusive.

Then there is the thinking that the wise men's ability to dance across party lines could spare us the rancor that so marks Congress today. Along these lines, some pundits have extolled what they remember as the bipartisan nature of the Watergate impeachment hearings. They forget that Watergate became a bipartisan process only after it became clear that Richard Nixon's removal from office was pretty much inevitable.

In retrospect, even the old Establishment's bipartisan foreign policy appears to many historians as a much overrated aberration. Even

within the White House, the wise men were so steeped in the Establishment's culture of discretion that in critical moments they could not express the courage of their convictions. This is what happened with Vietnam.

Many of Lyndon Johnson's wise men quickly understood the futility of that war. McGeorge Bundy, his national security adviser, warned in a memorandum to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara that sending large numbers of American combat troops to Vietnam was "rash to the point of folly."

In October 1964 his brother William, then the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, characterized Vietnam in a confidential memorandum: "A bad colonial heritage of long standing... a nationalist movement taken over by Communism ruling in the other half of an ethnically and historically united country, the Communist side inheriting much the better military force and far more than its share of the talent — these are the facts that dog us today." Critics of the war like I. F. Stone could hardly have quarreled with this top-secret analysis.

But wisdom did not prevail. When President Johnson rejected any recommendations for withdrawal, the Bundy brothers and their fellow sages endorsed a gradual escalation. Why? By and large, these men acted out of an Establishment ethos that valued loyalty over dissent.

Resigning one's position was not an honorable course of action. Nor was publicly disagreeing with the President, even after the fact. McGeorge Bundy once said that those entrusted with responsibility by the President had been "handed a pistol along with that trust, and that

the trust, but turned that pistol on the man who had trusted them and shot him in the head."

In short, the Establishment had a problem speaking truth to power. And, evidently, so do the smart young men and women around the President today. They have criticized Mr. Stephanopoulos for the harsh comments he has made about Mr. Clinton since leaving the White House.

Besides, is the Establishment really disappearing or is it just becoming harder to recognize?

Just as in the old days the wise men made a habit of cultivating a few go-getters of middle-class origins like McCloy, the son of a hairdresser, the Establishment of the 1990's has become multicultural. Who is President Clinton's wise man — the elder to whom he turns for private counsel? None other than Vernon Jordan — who was himself recruited into that most elite of Establishment clubs, the Bilderberg Group, by William Bundy in the late 1980's.

As in the past, we have our wise men — but not necessarily wisdom.

## Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, please contact the Op-Ed page editor.

## In America

BOB HERBERT

# G.O.P. Cover Story

Throughout Thursday's impeachment debate in the House you could hear the uncharacteristically low-keyed voice of the G.O.P.'s chief inquisitor.

"The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for three minutes," Newt Gingrich would say. Or he would rap his Speaker's gavel for quiet and ask, oh so formally and respectfully, "Does the gentleman move the previous question?"

Every now and then he would smile hideously, reminding us that hypocrisy is as abundant in Washington as fertilizer on the farm.

It was, frankly, chilling. Newt Gingrich presiding over the possible impeachment of a Democratic President, even one as spectacularly vulnerable as Bill Clinton, is insane.

This is the same Newt Gingrich who several years ago told a group of young Republicans: "I think one of the great problems we have in the Republican Party is that we don't

This is a party that tried to eliminate Federal nutrition standards for school meals and fought hard against a meat inspection system designed to protect the public from the deadly E. coli bacteria.

It's a party that attacked Medicare and Medicaid and went out of its way to trash the environment. Clean air? Clean water? Forget about it. Representative Tom DeLay of Texas, the majority whip and a sharp critic of Mr. Clinton, denounced the Environmental Protection Agency as the "Gestapo of the Government."

You want ethics? Pull the clips on Mr. Gingrich and learn how not to behave. Or check out John Boehner of Ohio, chairman of the House Republican Conference. I wrote a column in 1996 describing how he took money from tobacco lobbyists and handed it out to certain of his colleagues on the floor of the House, while the House was in session.

These are men who couldn't find the high road if they approached it by parachute.

There is no doubt that Bill Clinton brought his problems on himself. He destroyed his own Presidency. But there are consequences to be paid if the Republicans are allowed to feast too ravenously on the political spoils.

Democrats have already lost the opportunity to control the campaign season with discussions of such issues as the rights of patients in the era of managed care, the need to move boldly to rebuild the public school system, the concerns of working Americans in a chaotic economic environment and the outlook for Social Security.

Having been handed the gift of Monica Lewinsky, the Republicans are running with her. She conceals their real agenda. If they can parlay the Monica madness into substantially increased majorities in the House and Senate, they can renew their conservative assault on government and their subversion of the interests of ordinary working Americans and the poor.

Keep in mind that this is a party that crafted extraordinary tax breaks for billionaires while claiming the sky would fall if the minimum wage was raised to \$5.25 an hour.

Bill Clinton and the Democrats fended off the most extreme aspects of the so-called Republican revolution of the mid-90's. Now Mr. Clinton has given the right-wingers the opportunity to take care of their unfinished business. Only the voters stand in the way.

## Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

# F.O.B.'s: Femmes of Bill

WASHINGTON Bill Clinton's Presidency crystallized with one courtesan. It shattered with another.

His plans to win the White House came together amid the Aubussons, Baccarat, seven-foot-tall sterling torchères and 18th-century hand-painted Chinese wallpaper in the Georgetown drawing room of Pamela Harriman. His plans for a great legacy fell apart in the windowless hallway near the Oval Office with Monica Lewinsky.

The problem with this scandal is not illicit sex. The problem is that we need a better class of illicit sex.

Mr. Clinton began in the capable hands of a world-class femme fatale. He ended up in the clutching hands of a junior fatal femme.

It's safe to say that Pamela would have been appalled by Monica.

One talked in the deep rolling cadences of Winston Churchill; the other, like a Valley mall rat. One gave her men monogrammed silver cigarette lighters; the other, books like "Oy Vey! The Things They Say: A Guide to Jewish Wit." One dressed in Bill Blass and Oscar de la Renta; the other, in the Gap. One served her men foie gras; the other, pizza. One cultivated the most elegant female friends from New York and Washington society; the other poured her heart out to a wired-up Pentagon flunky. One collected delicious gossip to amuse her lovers; the other just gossiped about her lover.

It just goes to show, you can't get on-the-job training as a courtesan at the Presidential level. An amateur can put the whole country at risk. Tomorrow night, the Lifetime cable channel will air "Life of the Party," based on Christopher Ogden's book about the woman who was famous for her famous men.

Pamela Digby Churchill Hayward Harriman is played, with high camp and little sympathy, by an actress with merely one name, Ann-Margret. The Lifetime press release gushes: "Men loved her. Women envied her. Family scorned her. A nation adored her."

The film uses real news footage of Bill Clinton giving the eulogy for his Ambassador to France at her state funeral in Washington last February.

Mrs. Harriman helped revive the Democratic Party in the 80's, by raising money and bestowing an aura of glamour. She mentored Bill Clinton, teaching him how to operate

Now Monica has hurt the Democratic Administration that Pamela served so many canapés to create.

"After all the time Pam spent teaching Clinton how to aim high," Mr. Ogden says, "she would have been horrified to see him brought so low by Monica."

With their porcelain complexions and pillow figures, both Pamela and Monica zeroed in on powerful men, unfettered by any twinges of conscience about wives, enveloping their quarry with rapt gazes, flattery and sex that catered to male wishes and fantasies.

"Pamela was so about subtlety and cunning," says Sally Bedell Smith, who wrote a biography of

## Senior siren, junior siren.

Mrs. Harriman called "Reflected Glory." "She never would have been friends with Linda Tripp or blabbed to 11 people. Monica plays the game all wrong. Pamela would have taken that job with Bill Richardson, and set herself up as an emissary between the U.N. and the White House. She never would have wanted to work at Revlon."

Mrs. Harriman was a disciplined siren, a long-term strategic thinker on romance, a woman who cocooned and nanny-ed her men, played them off against each other, and always stayed friends with old lovers. She would never have threatened or blackmailed a lover, or denounced one as a Big Creep. She never even admitted to being dumped; she simply picked herself up and moved on to the next target.

She was the consummate geisha, with a man's slippers, cocktails and briefing papers at the ready.

"She was the sort to snuggle in front of van Gogh's 'White Roses,'" says Mr. Ogden. "Not to have a hurried encounter in a dark hallway."

Everyone assumed that the femme fatale ethos would not survive feminism. But it has roared back, as feminism has been compromised. Men are as blind as ever to the transparent tricks, because they love the flattery.



## THE ARTS

## When Bob Dylan's Genius Burned the Brightest

By JON PARELES

THINGS got ugly when Bob Dylan performed on May 17, 1966 at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, England. A good part of the audience was actively hostile to Dylan's non-protest songs and his bluesy electric band: catcalling, shouting insults, clapping in an attempt to drown out the music. During a pause while the band tuned up, one heckler shouted "Judas!" as if Dylan was both apostle and traitor to his true disciples. Dylan declared, "I don't believe you," told the band to play loud and turned "Like a Rolling Stone" into both an exultant accusation and a disillusioned anthem.

It was all duly recorded by Columbia Records, which finally releases Dylan's "Live 1966" (two CD's) this week. Proving once again that he's a lousy judge of his own music, Dylan was quoted in *Ice* magazine saying, "If I'd thought this record was any good, it would have been released a long time ago." Luckily, bootleg recordings emerged anyway. And because the initial bootlegs were billed as the concert from the Royal Albert Hall, where Dylan ended his European tour 10 days later, the album is subtitled "The Bootleg Series Vol. 4: The 'Royal Albert Hall' Concert." (Columbia has tentatively scheduled three more finds from the Dylan archives for release next February, with expanded versions of "Oh Mercy," "The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan" and "Blood on the Tracks.")

When he performed in Manchester, Dylan was on tour between the release of "Highway 61 Revisited" and "Blonde on Blonde," and his audiences represented two camps. Along with the rock listeners who had turned "Like a Rolling Stone" into a hit, there were folk fans who had wanted him to keep writing protest songs and who considered his electric guitar and his rock backup band to be a sellout and a betrayal. It was musical taste as a political and generational schism: an early sign of the rift between the doctrinaire, Puritanical old left, which wanted straightforward agitprop for the masses, and the more amorphous, hedonistic counterculture that considered having a good time to be an insurrection in itself. The two sides were as dedicated as they were naive; capitalism would soon turn them both into market segments.

Folkies and rockers both came to

hear Dylan in concert, and Dylan was willing to meet old fans partway. For the first half of the concert, he brought out his acoustic guitar and harmonica to play solo versions of "She Belongs to Me" and "Desolation Row" along with brand new songs like "Visions of Johanna" and the hilariously deadpan "Fourth Time Around." Everyone was happy with those, even if Dylan was teasing them with odd inflections and a drawn-out harmonica solo in "Mr.

### An officially released 'bootleg' from 1966 captures an artist-audience showdown.

Tambourine Man."

Then, for the second half, Dylan reappeared with the Hawks (who would, with a different drummer, go on to become the Band), and the uproar began. Plugged in to a powerful sound system, Dylan and the Hawks riled the folk fans, as they knew they would. Folkies had been booing Dylan since his Newport Folk Festival appearance with the Butterfield Blues Band in 1965.

But Dylan was too smart and too stubborn to let hidebound listeners prevent him from making the best music of his career. And in the alchemy of live performance, the crowd's reaction intensified the music. "Leopard-Skin Pill-Box Hat" and "I Don't Believe You" taunted their listeners, while "Ballad of a Thin Man" was made to perform in the faces of people who knew something was happening but didn't know what it was. And in "Tell Me, Momma" — a song that had not been officially released before, though a variant of its lyrics was published in "Bob Dylan: Lyrics, 1962-1985" (Alfred A. Knopf, 1985) — Dylan sang words that could apply to himself circa 1966: "Everybody sees you on your window ledge/How long is it gonna take for you to get off the edge?"

Three decades later, the songs and style are no longer new, as folk-rock soothes baby boomers on lite-rock stations. But the music Dylan made



Bob Dylan in England during his 1966 tour. When his electric band showed up, a heckler shouted "Judas!"

with the Hawks remains vital and startling and indelible, charged with the strangeness of the moment and the timelessness of genius. Dylan and the Hawks confronted their listeners with music that was at once deeply grounded and untamed, as trusty as the blues and as reckless as a band of sleepless, cocky, drugged-out renegades could make it. Speaking

between songs, Dylan sounds lacy and spaced-out; whether that's a put-on or a sign of fatigue is impossible to tell. But whenever the music kicks in, his voice is clear and invincible: scathing, funny, seductive, bleak, furious and preternaturally knowing.

On the road with the group, D.A. Pennebaker was making a document-

tary to follow up "Don't Look Back," the film of Dylan's English tour a year earlier. The 1966 footage, edited by Dylan and a cameraman, Howard Alk, became "Eat the Document," a rarity that has resurfaced for screenings at the Museum of Television and Radio through Nov. 20. Amid its fractured continuity, it shows Dylan pursuing music onstage

and off, with quick glimpses of concerts and of late-night songwriting sessions with the guitarist Robbie Robertson; whenever Dylan has a guitar in his hands, his concentration never wavers.

But when he isn't making music, the camera follows an increasingly drawn, desolate figure, under pressure from all directions. In one truncated scene, Dylan is in a car with John Lennon, sitting with his head in his hands as Lennon tries to jolly him out of it. Bob Spitz's biography, "Dylan" (W.W. Norton, 1988), describes the outtakes that continued that scene, showing Dylan drugged, incoherent and sick. He was headed for burnout, and for the motorcycle accident in July 1966 that ended his most intemperate, most inspired years, when he burned as brightly as any great artist could.

The concert is evidence. Drawing perverse energy from the reaction, Dylan and the Hawks were playing as much for themselves as for the audience, and they weren't going to coast. Dylan and the Hawks knew the songs inside out but found gleeful surprises in them again and again. The way Garth Hudson's organ answers each line of lyrics in "Ballad of a Thin Man," or Robertson's lazy, twangy guitar lines cackle through "Leopard-Skin Pill-Box Hat," or the band unanimously ratchets up the last verse of "Baby, Let Me Follow You Down," reveal in how closely they were listening to each other and how fast their reactions were.

The hecklers were wrong about the music, as most of them would probably admit now. Dylan's idea of American tradition was truer than what the acoustic-guitar purists would have enforced. He understood that blues, country and gospel always used the instruments at hand, and that the songs that collectors came to revere were written about their own time and place.

Yet spare a kindly thought for those righteous folkies who were so intent on punishing Dylan's heresy. Who now goes to a pop concert expecting to be challenged or upset by what they hear? But wrongheaded as they were, the folkies were passionate about music and convinced that they could make a difference. It's a good thing they couldn't, but at least they weren't passive entertainment consumers. As the late 1960's careened into view, their clapping and shouting added up to their own protest song.

## A Renewal in the Rockies

By JAN ELLEN SPIEGEL

AS he waited for curtain calls at the gala closing of the old Metropolitan Opera House in 1966, Martin Fredmann, then a 23-year-old dancer with the Metropolitan Opera Ballet, felt a pinch on his bottom. He turned to discover Martha Graham. She gave him a big wink. It was the only time Mr. Fredmann met Graham. Now artistic director of Colorado Ballet in Denver, he could probably use another pinch and wink.

The improbable irony of the intervening years is that Mr. Fredmann, whose background is in classical ballet, is a linchpin in an experiment that might give Graham's modern-dance repertoire a more secure lease on life. Next weekend Colorado Ballet presents the first major production by an American ballet company of a Graham work when it performs "Appalachian Spring." Selected Graham pieces have been staged by European ballet companies (Paris Opera Ballet, Dutch National Ballet) and modern-dance troupes in Israel.

This is the first time that "Appalachian Spring," created in 1944 with a commissioned score that won Aaron Copland a Pulitzer Prize, will be performed by any troupe outside the Martha Graham Dance Company itself. The Colorado production also coincides with licensing arrangements for Graham's works under the newly formed Graham Trust.

The Graham company, although more financially pressed than usual in recent years, does not depend on this formal licensing mechanism for its survival. But royalties and licensing fees can flow revenue back into the company. The question is whether a regional ballet company like Colorado Ballet can properly perform Graham's nonballetic idiom and thus pave the way for similar companies to stage Graham performances. (Two other companies, Hartford Ballet and the Peter Sparling Company in Ann Arbor, Mich., run by former Graham dancers, have also been licensed to do Graham works.)

The stakes, not to mention the literal pain of the intense training Colorado Ballet has undergone since early September, are keeping more than a few people up at night.

"We're not going to mess up," said Mr. Fredmann. Despite anxiety, he declared this Graham experiment to be the most enlightening experience of his dance life. "I care about it too much, too deeply, and everybody peacemaking."

### For the first time, a Martha Graham masterpiece finds a home outside the mother company.

ed Balanchine Trust. His agreement with the Graham Trust includes acquiring two more works in the next five years.

Colorado Ballet is ostensibly an odd choice to initiate the Trust. About a third of its dancers come from areas once part of the Soviet Union; all are classically trained. The catalyst in this odd union was Richard Philp, editor in chief of *Dance Magazine*; he is a friend to both Mr. Fredmann and Ron Protas, the artistic director of the Graham company, who acquired the rights to Graham's works after her death in 1991. Mr. Protas was enthusiastic about a regional company's performing Graham's dances.

"I felt that a lot of the power and creativity in dance today is in the regional area," Mr. Protas explained. "I met Martin and I knew some of their work. And I like him and I liked them and I went out to see the company with Janet" — Janet Ellber, artistic co-director of the Trust — "and I felt their freshness and their openness. And Martin is very dedicated, very passionate, and would kill himself to maintain standards. I would not have let them do 'Appalachian Spring' if I thought they couldn't."

Which didn't exactly allay Mr. Fredmann's fears that his company couldn't pull off a quality performance. But Mr. Protas reassured him. As Mr. Fredmann recalled it: "He said, 'Don't worry. He said, 'I don't expect you to do it like Graham;

doing a Graham piece is not far-fetched. 'Appalachian Spring,' which was Mr. Fredmann's choice, was choreographed with Erick Hawkins, a ballet dancer, in the lead male role. Mikhail Baryshnikov and Rudolf Nureyev have danced the piece with the Graham company.

The Colorado dancers had been warned by Meelis Pakri, a company member, about the rigors of Graham technique. He had danced the husbandman's role in May in the Graham company's 54th-anniversary performance of "Appalachian Spring" at the Library of Congress. He will reprise the role with Colorado.

But within days, the technique's pelvic contraction and release, spiral-based movement, floor-centered style and clear but sweeping focus left Colorado dancers with hamstring muscles so sore they could barely climb steps. Kneepads were common at rehearsal as dancers learned Graham's knee-based movements.

"What doesn't hurt?" the dancers responded in unison to the question of their physical well-being two weeks into their six-week rehearsal. Gregory Gonzales, dancing the revivalist's role, pointed to a pinhead-size spot and said, "This place on my elbow doesn't hurt." He grimaced. But it was no laughing matter for Maria Mosina, the Bolshoi-trained ballerina selected to dance the bride's role. She was so distressed after the first few days of training that she wanted to quit.

"It's like a foreign language to us," she said with translation assistance from Mr. Pakri. "Basically, all the motions are in opposition to ballet." Terese Capucilli, a nearly 20-year veteran of the Graham company and a noted interpreter of Graham's own roles, directed the first two weeks of rehearsal, which included technique training and setting the ballet. It was followed by coaching from Joyce Herring, a former Graham dancer, and touch-up work by Mr. Protas.

"You have to realize," Ms. Capucilli said, "a Russian ballerina, suddenly looking at herself in the mirror with an inverted leg and a contraction in her body when she's trained for years and years to do the opposite. 'Maria came around when we started to really get into the core of her work and when she started to understand where the technique, as it applies to 'Spring,' could help her through."

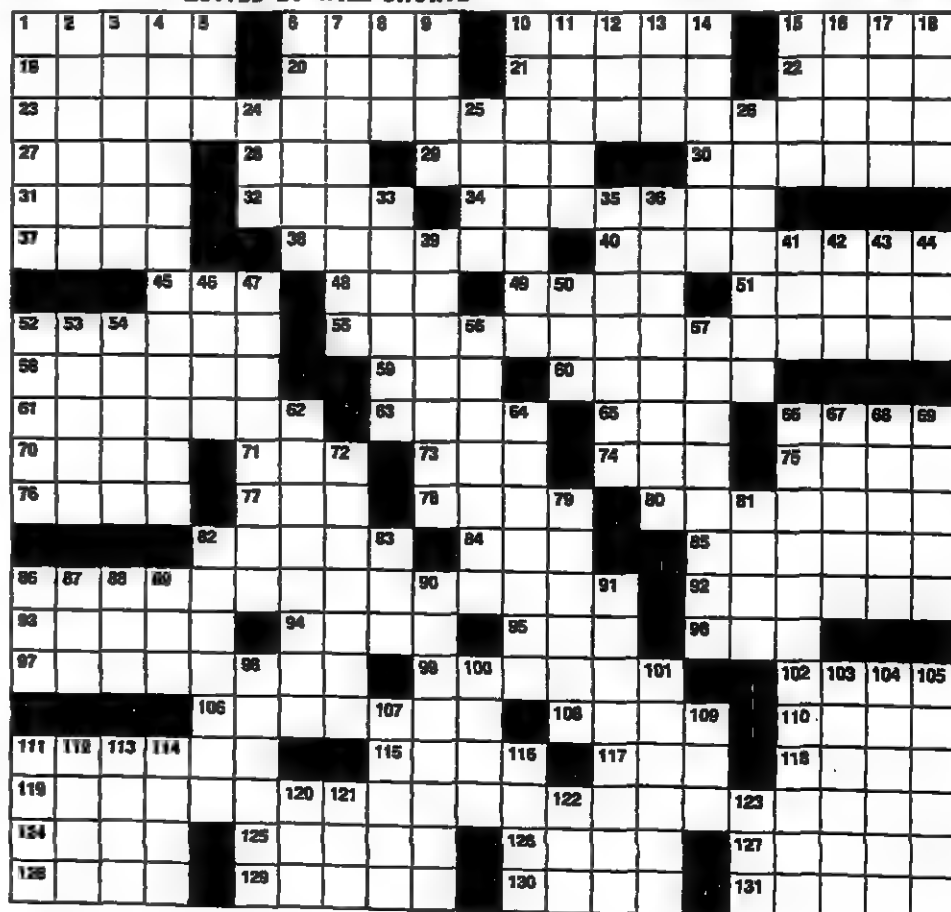
Jan Ellen Spiegel is a dance writer.

## MOTHERING

By NANCY SALOMON, MARJORIE RICHTER AND KELLY CLARK  
EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

## ACROSS

- 1 Discrimination
- 6 1967 U.S. clay court champion
- 10 Divine
- 15 Two caplets, e.g.
- 19 Persian Gulf sight
- 20 Dreadlocks feature
- 21 Had a row?
- 22 Party times
- 23 Mother a pasty subject?
- 27 Got on
- 28 D.C. body
- 29 Art Deco illustrator
- 30 Not cultured
- 31 Sudden burst
- 32 Deal procedure
- 34 Cookie
- 37 Not fooled by
- 38 Prevent from practicing
- 40 Sots
- 45 Easily tamed bird
- 46 Command for D.D.E.
- 49 Toast topper
- 51 Poet Thaxter
- 52 Straw-colored
- 55 Mother pane in the backside?
- 58 Rotten
- 59 Part of a pilot's plan: Abbr.
- 60 Big display
- 61 Computer typesetter
- 63 Hand holder?
- 65 Suffix with hotel
- 66 "Is that a —?"
- 70 They're big in boardrooms
- 71 CD
- 73 "No sirree"
- 74 City in central Israel
- 75 Edward Munch Museum site
- 76 Scout groups
- 77 Sally sauce
- 78 Pontiac classics
- 80 Whaler's wear
- 82 Aquarium fish
- 84 Absorbed, as a cost
- 85 Record making
- 86 Mother someone who's really awful?
- 92 Doings
- 93 Basketball fiber
- 94 Near
- 95 See 17-Down
- 96 It's often heard on Sun.
- 97 Crimson
- 99 Brought (in)
- 102 Cup part
- 106 Physicist who pioneered electromagnetism
- 108 Holiday partner
- 110 Make over
- 111 Eats voraciously
- 115 Ferocity



- 116 European auto import
- 119 Mother a small fry?
- 124 Parodies
- 125 Sequenth
- 126 Top-drawer
- 127 Glide
- 128 Rock and roll prerequisite
- 129 Mothering sort
- 130 Stamina, so to speak
- 131 Phosphate, e.g.
- 25 Soprano in "Louise"
- 26 Kind of belt
- 33 Prize
- 35 "M\*A\*S\*H" logo, e.g.
- 36 "Bye!"
- 39 Lake activity
- 41 Javits Center architect
- 42 Cheer at the end of a dance
- 43 Up to, informally
- 44 Deplorably poor
- 46 1970's P.M.
- 47 Like the Titanic
- 50 Golf ball position
- 52 Loose
- 53 Jessica or Hope
- 54 Dutch landscapist — Mauve
- 56 Gunfire sound
- 57 Pack-'em-in children's game
- 62 Hires, e.g.
- 64 Cheat on
- 66 Mother some babbler?
- 67 Greet warmly at the door
- 68 First name in westerns
- 69 Graspers
- 72 Lots and lots
- 79 More than forgetful
- 81 Nothing on the court
- 83 Reno and Kennedy, e.g.: Abbr.
- 86 Tease
- 87 Soundless communication: Abbr.
- 88 Four-time Japanese prime minister
- 89 — mo
- 90 Parade decoration
- 91 Working, in a way
- 98 Like antiques at an auction
- 100 Leg up
- 101 They have no sting
- 103 Meaning of two dots and a bar, in music
- 104 Conceive
- 105 One that shades
- 107 Collector's stash
- 109 Classify
- 111 Sign of healing
- 112 Superhero accessory
- 113 See 114-Down
- 114 With 113-Down, a roadside sight
- 116 List ender
- 120 Rock's — Speedwagon
- 121 Remained
- 122 Ground breaker
- 123 Literary initials

## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

GENINIS ULEF BEDS DSN  
RIOTACT PATCHEDUP BAE  
ESREVERPSYCHOLOGAIS  
ENEMY IRA HINT COWLS  
TEA OVAL DOE VAPOR  
RUBTHEYAGHORY LAUDS  
LYONS BIA THELO  
AWFUL PEA POWER OHS  
THREEFACESTEN TALBOT  
TIE ROBERT HOHI SEINE  
ENDE EASEL ORING SLAW  
NEEDS SATE WINGIT IAA  
SSICRUT CARRIAGENRUTER  
SILCINKIS YEH ISVET  
CORDE MAS MAINE  
KUKLA OUTINTFELFIELD  
ONHIGER SIN RATS AOL  
WITNEY ENIL ANE SWINE  
YAR BENDOVERSDRAWKCAR  
OTO INADANCE EWIRATE  
LSP MIAA ARRA ARRA ARRA



# The intolerable burden father gave me

Most people have wished at some time that they had a different name. But what do you do when you were born in 1949, in Hitler's birthplace – and your parents call you Adolf? Adi Wimmer asks

I can tell you, it has never been easy.

Tell folks you come from Braunau am Inn, Hitler's birthplace, and a smirk comes to their faces. Tell them that, on top of that, your first name is Adolf and they either howl with derision, or look at you with pity.

My most painful memory is of the inauspicious start to my university studies in Salzburg, back in 1967. The lady professor looked at us sternly and announced she was going to take down everybody's name, plus the school where we had graduated.

My turn came and I said "Adolf Wimmer." She sat up and, with scorn in her voice, barked "Adolf?" back at me – as though she must have misheard.

"Yes, Adolf," I replied, and felt my face go red.

Slight pause. "Mama from which school?" I had a hunch what was in store. "Bundesgymnasium Braunau am Inn, Frau Professor," I muttered.

She banged down the palms of her hands and almost screamed: "From Braunau, and you call yourself Adolf? Well, how dare you?"

The whole class roared with laughter. I fled from the room.

POOR father, he did not know what he had done to himself and to me. People think that anyone deciding on such a name after 1945 must have been a diehard Nazi.

Oh, I had those suspicious looks a lot when I was a boy: "Adolf is your name? Hmmm. Daddy keeps a picture of der Fuehrer at home, yes?"

There were reactions of the opposite kind too.

"Adolf, jawohl mein Fuehrer." Laughing, people would jerk their left arms upwards, which left me and my playmates confused.

How could they know that my father's name was Adolf too, and that he was born in 1908? In 1949, and after two daughters, he followed a local custom and named his only son after himself. Nor was he a Nazi.

As a devout, almost bigoted, Catholic he was a follower of Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, who was outwitted by Hitler and incarcerated for the duration of Nazi rule.

Even so, how could he choose such a name for his son, thinking it would not matter? Less than four years after war's end and in the shadow of the Holocaust?

BUT as no thing is totally bad, there was a good side to the name too. It made me aware of Austria's (and Germany's) history, long before teachers impinged on my mind. All that mentioning of der Fuehrer and those Hitler salutes made me read everything on Nazism I could lay my hands on.

Certain journals that my mother rented were a valuable source of information.

I remember my shock when I first saw a photo of the piled-up corpses in the liberated death camps, and a quiet horror crept into my mind at the realization that another Adolf – one who had been born only 200 meters away from where I lived – was responsible for those unspeakable crimes.

By the age of about 12 I knew all I needed to know about the Holocaust and Nazism; I had a head start. Some of it had to do with the fact that you could never get away from Hitler in Braunau. There was a Hitler-tourism of sorts, although the town did nothing to encourage it.

Since there was no plaque affixed to the house where Hitler's cradle stood, strangers to Braunau had to ask their way. Whom did they ask? Well, not the police – they might treat you as a closet Nazi. Not even adults; Braunau was a working-class town, and they risked a mouthful of abuse. So they asked the children.

Between the ages of 10 and 15 I must have been asked 50 times for the Hitlerhaus, as it was called by many, or for "the birthplace of der Fuehrer."

I mentioned this curious phenomenon to my classmates at one time, and everybody said it was happening to them, too. Once there was a tourist with an Italian accent whom I guided to the house (as it was on my way to the main square). He took out a pocket knife and a paper bag, and solemnly scraped some of the mortar off the outside.

Braunau is only 60 km away from Salzburg, a city that has done exceedingly well out of its greatest

son, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. It's not fair that Salzburg should be so lucky and Braunau so terribly unlucky with its most famous son.

For decades, Braunau's only way of dealing with Hitler was denial. (Come to think of it, that was no different anywhere else in Austria; but in Braunau denial was even more entrenched.)

But in 1991 a new mayor was elected, who took a different approach. From 1992 on an annual conference has taken place there, devoted to subjects connected to the Nazi past.

The seventh conference, which took place from 25-27 September, was on *belastete Namen*, names with a Nazi legacy.

THE conference participant who attracted the greatest media attention was a Tyrolean coach driver named Adolf Hitler. He was born in 1937. His parents were desperately poor, so when a Nazi midwife bribed them with an offer to act as godmother, they consented to her suggestion of "Adolf."

This Hitler was a jocular fellow, who tried to make us see the funny side of his name: How he is already used to the incredulous stares when his papers are checked at border crossings; how companies that hire him sometimes insist he tell his customers a different

name, particularly if there are Jewish customers in the coach.

For such occasions he calls himself Andreas Herler, a name that was actually suggested to him by an English company for which he chauffeured a group of Israeli athletes.

But, pressed for anecdotes that were unfunny, he took a gulp of air and confessed to being the target of

**He was called Adolf too, and he was no Nazi. Even so, how could he choose such a name for his son, thinking it would not matter?**

numerous anonymous phone calls, often in the middle of the night.

"Is this Adolf Hitler?" the voice usually asks, "We've got a couple of Jews here for gassing. Come pick them up."

So why has he not changed his name? Out of respect for his parents, is his stubborn reply.

That was the reason offered also by Heinrich Himmler, a bricklayer born in 1941, who now lives close to Braunau. He did not even know one could change one's name until recently.

No point now, he said. But he has always suffered from that name and the jeers of "Nazi-boy." Even now he dreads references to the real Heinrich Himmler by friends and work-mates. Such a reference would typically be the "humorous" suggestion, "Hey, Heini, let's go to Mauthausen and start a fire."

The audience at the conference gasped. A woman from the auditorium came forward and revealed the pain her name, Adolfine, gave her. Her father, so she knew, mounted her mother on the eve of March 13, 1938, with his SS boots on, in celebration of Hitler's annexation of Austria, and in the hope of siring a boy.

"That father," she said, "wrecked my life."

A different case was Michael Seys-Inquart, grandson of Dr. Arthur Seys-Inquart, the *Gauleiter* of Holland. He started his talk by lighting a candle in memory of the more than 100,000 Dutch Jews his forbear had ordered rounded up and murdered.

The room was hushed as this 40-year-old man, pale and pained, spoke haltingly about coming to terms with his grandfather's

crimes. He hinted that the rest of his family did not share his anguish, and considered him a traitor.

Nor has he been welcome in the anti-Nazi camp. A few years ago, a board member of the Dutch Anne Frank foundation suggested that he become a supporting member. He jumped at this opportunity to atone, in whatever small ways possible.

Imagine his disappointment when other members of the Anne Frank board rebelled, and the invitation was withdrawn.

AND what first names were typically given during the Third Reich? Not nearly as many "Teutonic" ones as might be suspected. These would have been names like Siegfried, Odilo, Kriemhild and Friedrun. Their overall percentage never rose to more than 2%.

Typically, a peak was reached as late as in 1943, when other "Germanic" names such as Gerhard, Gertrud, Gerhild, or Ute (which amounted to 6% overall in 1933 and peaked at 12% in 1941) were already in decline.

The reason: Diehard Nazis were declaring their allegiance to the cause by choosing such names even when it was clear to most Germans that the war was lost.

Similarly, the name Adolf never rose to more than 1.7% (in 1937),

from where it steadily declined. After 1945, the name slipped to 0.3% and today it is virtually extinct.

When I checked the register of my old school in Braunau, not one of the 678 students enrolled was named Adolf or Adolfine.

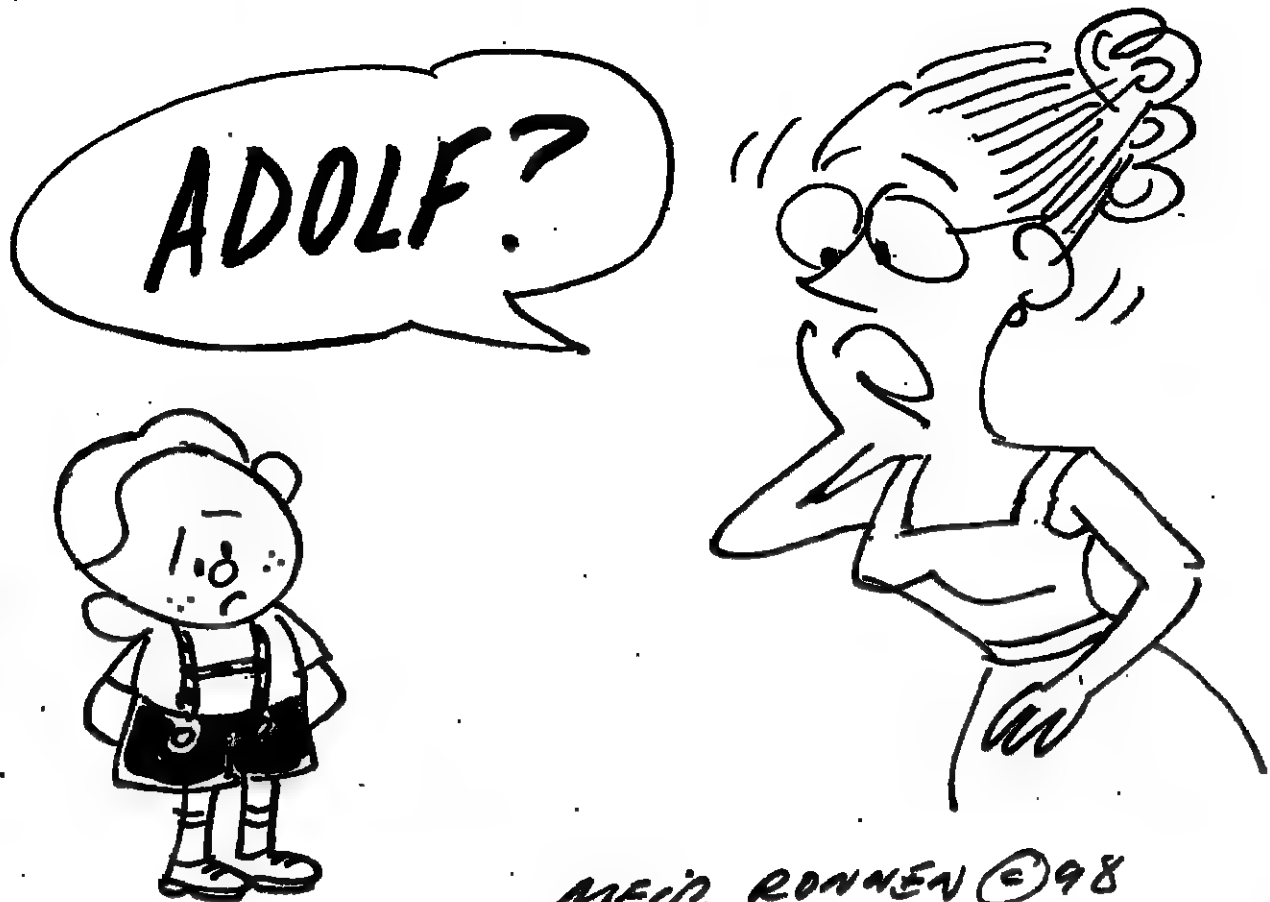
PS: In 1986 I changed my name by deed poll from Adolf to Adi, which had been my nickname, anyway. But, still, that other name was in my passport, and it always drew curious glances.

Oh, I know that the name itself is not political, and I know that Adolf was frequently found in Jewish families earlier this century. But after 1945, and coming from Braunau, it just would not do.

Imagine my surprise when I visited Israel for the first time in 1989, and found that Adi was quite a common name there! Oh, my – if Hitler had only known that his first name, abbreviated to its nickname, was Jewish! He would surely have died on the spot.

It's a wild fantasy that gives me some pleasure.

The writer teaches English and American Studies at the University of Klagenfurt, Austria, and is the editor of a book of memoirs by Austrian Jews in exile, which will appear in an American translation published by McFarland & Co. in 1999.



MEIR RONEN ©98

## EITAN

Continued from Page 1

He again charged that the State Attorney's Office was "white-washing its part and [the fact that] it had given permission to operate an agent provocateur. This is a disgrace to democracy," he said.

Eitan said the State Attorney's Office had given the GSS the go-ahead, not only to condone Raviv's activities post factum, but also had given him carte blanche to engage in provocative activity in advance.

"If the Shamgar Commission said that the GSS failed with regard to its operation of Raviv, the failure of the state prosecution is 1,000 times worse," Eitan said. "Rubinstein says I must not say such things. Is this democracy?"

Rubinstein – who was not present at the meeting but was represented by Arbel – adds that, after

reading the protocol, he is convinced there is no basis whatsoever to the allegations against Arbel and Ayalon and demands an apology from Eitan.

It is not for political circles to decide whether or not a person must be brought to trial, Rubinstein's letter continues, "It would be bad and bitter were this so."

There are no new facts brought to light in Eitan's dossier, Rubinstein stresses. "Only someone who does not know the case well could mistakenly believe that there are sensational new findings."

Rubinstein also denies that Eitan has lodged dozens of complaints about Raviv, saying emphatically that "this is not so." He therefore does not see any point in setting up a commission.

This is an extremely complex case, Rubinstein reiterates in his letter, and the reasons will become apparent when the decision is announced about whether

or not to try Raviv.

The state attorney has already handed over all her evidence to the attorney-general in the case, but Rubinstein has asked for further inquiries, and therefore the decision has not yet been taken.

In her own letter to the prime minister, Arbel warns that if politicians are allowed directly or indirectly to intervene in the state's decisions about whether to try a suspect, this will shortly bring an end to the rule of law.

As for Eitan, she says, his facts are incorrect. "This is a baseless scheme that could not be any more serious," she says, noting that it is undermining the country's separation of powers. Eitan represents a certain political sector and cannot make such decisions.

There is a High Court of Justice which can intervene in this matter, Arbel notes, adding that the Shamgar Commission has already looked into the issues raised by the deputy minister.

## FIRESTORM

Continued from Page 1

At one stage, only emergency vehicles were allowed anywhere near the township, as firefighters, once again aided by light planes and IAF helicopters, fought to prevent homes being engulfed and gradually bring the fire under control.

As of late last night, firefighters were also battling to extinguish blazes in Canada Park, in the 'Latrun' area, off the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway.

Police from Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria evacuated the area around the time when the fire started, apparently in an old minefield.

The fire in the Jerusalem Forest began in the early afternoon between Ein Kerem and Yad Vashem. Police evacuated the forest, and firefighters and rescue teams from Jerusalem

and Beit Shmesh extinguished the fire by 9 p.m.

Jerusalem police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby said investigators found the fire had started in a number of places, indicating that arson was the cause.

Arson is also suspected in a chain of blazes that erupted in the Wadi Ara region over the past few days.

Four Israeli Arabs were arrested yesterday on suspicion of starting fires over the past two weeks in the Wadi Ara area.

Conflagrations were also reported yesterday near Moshav Liman and in the area of the Druse village of Yerka, both in Western Galilee, as well as in the Shfaram and Upper Nazareth regions, in addition to Neveh Rotem in Pardess Hanna.

Besides the flames, one of the biggest headaches for firefighters throughout yesterday

was the hot, dry weather, with afternoon temperatures reaching over 36 degrees centigrade.

The Knesset Interior Committee has scheduled an emergency session for tomorrow to discuss the fires, while Interior Minister Eli Suissa has appointed a committee of inquiry to investigate the Danya blaze.

Tim adds: Two fires broke out Sunday in the Givat Napoleon neighborhood of Ramat Gan, the third and fourth fires to occur there in the past week.

The earlier fire, in the morning, had several flash points, and seven teams of firefighters were needed to put it out.

On Sunday evening, a fire broke out in a field in the same area.

Police are investigating the series of fires, but have made no arrests.

Amy Klein contributed to this report.

## CLINTON

Continued from Page 1

In other efforts to strengthen his political standing, Netanyahu has been making a round of meetings with leading rabbis. On Friday, the prime minister studied Torah with National Religious Party spiritual leader Mordechai Eliyahu at his home in Jerusalem.

Eliyahu is known to be against the proposed 13 percent withdrawal, and on several occasions has told Netanyahu that such a redeployment would force the NRP to topple his government.

Former Sepharadi chief rabbi Avraham Shapira, who remains a very influential figure within the NRP, told Netanyahu in a meeting last week that, "the rabbis won't be playing games. We will support you if you protect the Land of Israel and the lives of the settlers. But if there are redeployments, the public and the politicians will receive orders from us to topple you."

In a meeting with Shas spiritual leader Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, the atmosphere was more positive. "We like the prime minister and he is doing his best," said the rabbi, according to eyewitnesses.

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## Jones denies cricket betting allegations in probe

SYDNEY(Reuters) - Former Australian batsman Dean Jones yesterday denied allegations that he was forced to retire from international cricket because of involvement with betting or match-fixing.

Australian media said former Pakistan bowler Sarfraz Nawaz made the accusation in a sworn statement to a High Court Commission of Inquiry into alleged match-fixing by Pakistan cricketers.

Sarfraz suggested Jones had somehow been involved with illegal betting and was made to retire in 1994.

But Jones yesterday labelled the claim "absolute hogwash" and an insult. He said he was considering legal action against the Pakistani and was also prepared to travel to Pakistan to testify under oath.

"Obviously I'm livid, I can only say it's absolute nonsense what he (Sarfraz) said," Jones said.

"Anyone who has played with or against me knows what I'm like when I played my cricket. It's a bit of an insult towards me but I've

just got to leave it in the hands of the legal people," Sarfraz drew Jones into the issue when he was asked under oath how other countries dealt with players involved with illegal bookmakers.

"In other cricket playing countries, if the players are found to be involved in match-fixing and betting, they are made to retire or face the consequences," Sarfraz was quoted by the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper as telling the inquiry in Lahore.

"Dennis Lillee and Rodney Marsh were banned for six months and Dean Jones was made to retire," Lillee and Marsh had placed a £15 bet at 500-1 on England to win the Headingley Test against Australia in 1981.

England won the match.

Neither player was suspended for having made the bet or disciplined in any way since there were no rules at that time governing betting by players.

Jones said apart from rejecting an offer of \$50,000 in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1992, his involvement with illegal bookmakers was

"absolute zilch".

He said he was unsure whether Sarfraz was protected by privilege because he gave information under oath.

He said he would "absolutely" consider taking legal action against Sarfraz and his legal advisers were assessing what options he could take.

"I don't know where we stand at this stage but I'm quite prepared to go to Pakistan under oath, whatever they have to do to clear my name, and say I'm not involved in any such thing," said Jones, 37, played 52 Tests for Australia, scoring 3,631 runs at an average of 46.55. He also made his mark in the limited-overs game, scoring 6,068 runs from 164 matches at an average of 44.61.

He said he had retired from international cricket because he did not want to play just one form of the game after being regularly overlooked for the Test team.

Graham Halbish, the Australian Cricket Board chief executive at the time of the 1994 match-fixing allegations, said there was never

any suggestion of that Jones had been involved, other than that an offer had been made to him.

Halbish, one of a number of former and current Australian cricketers and officials to come to Jones's defence, said Jones informed team management about the offer in 1992 and told the person in "no uncertain terms" he was not interested.

The bribery issue arose after Australia's 1994 tour of Pakistan when Mark Waugh, Shane Warne and Tim May accused Pakistan's Salim Malik of offering them a bribe to throw the Karachi Test which Pakistan eventually won by one wicket.

An interim report released by the Pakistan Cricket Board last month recommended that Malik, Wasim Akram and Ijaz Ahmad should not be selected until the investigations were completed.

Waugh, in Pakistan with the Australian team, has repeated his allegations of bribery to the government-appointed judge investigating the charges.

## SPORTS

in brief

### Henman beats Agassi for Swiss Indoor title

BASEL(AP) - Britain's Tim Henman overcame a third-set stumble to beat fourth-seed Andre Agassi 6-4, 6-3, 3-6, 6-4 on Sunday, winning the Swiss Indoors for his second title of the season and the fourth of his career.

After successfully defending his Tashkent title last month, Henman needed two hours, 16 minutes Sunday for his 12th straight victory and his first consecutive titles on the ATP Tour.

In China, Michael Chang, enjoying a revival after a run of injuries, claimed his second title in six weeks when he beat top seed Goran Ivanisevic 4-6 6-1 6-2 in the Shanghai Open final yesterday.

### New No. 1 Davenport loses in Filderstadt final

FILDERSTADT, Germany (AP) - Sandrine Testud spoiled the beginning of Lindsay Davenport's reign as the new No. 1 by beating the American 7-5, 6-3 to win the Porsche Grand Prix on Sunday.

Testud, a 26-year-old Frenchwoman, broke Davenport's serve three times in the first set and twice more in the second to win in 71 minutes and capture the second title of her career after Palermo in 1997.

Davenport, 22, appeared listless in her first final since dethroning Martina Hingis from the top ranking earlier in the week. Testud picked up \$79,000 for her victory, while Davenport had to settle for \$36,000.

### Leighton calls it a day for Scotland

GLASGOW (Reuters) - Scotland's record cap-winning goalkeeper Jim Leighton retired yesterday from international football. National coach Craig Brown said Leighton, capped 91 times, gave no reason for his decision. But the goalkeeper had been criticized for his performance in Scotland's 3-2 victory over Estonia in Saturday's Euro 2000 qualifier.

The 40-year-old Aberdeen 'keeper had been expected to play against the Faroe Islands tomorrow in another group nine qualifier but will now be replaced by Celtic's Jonathan Gould.

Leighton became the first Scot to appear in four World Cup finals when kept goal in France last June.

### Ex Aussie captain Ian Johnson dies

MELBOURNE (AP) - Former Australian cricket captain Ian Johnson has died aged 80, Australian Cricket Board chairman Denis Rogers said yesterday.

Rogers said Johnson died in hospital on Friday after a long period of poor health.

Johnson, a member of the Invincibles side that was unbeaten on the 1948 tour of England, played 45 Tests between 1945 and 1957, scoring 1,000 runs at 18.52 and taking 109 wickets at 29.19.

He captained Australia from 1954-57. In 17 Tests under Johnson's captaincy, Australia won seven matches, lost five and drew five.

## Bransky, Swerdlow retain national bowls crowns

By NORMAN SPIRO

Cecil Bransky and Merle Swerdlow repeated their successes from last year when they respectively won the national men's and women's singles titles over the weekend at the Neanya club.

Bransky, up to his world class form, showed that in a field with world silver medalist Jeff Rabkin absent, that there was no other contender to match his level of play. In the final he beat Haifa's Aryeh Ben-Dor 21-9, the latter, however, reached the final with excellent play in the preliminary rounds, including a 21-14 win

over Israel international Haim Shefer.

Swerdlow showed once again her consistency as one of Israel's top women bowlers, when in the final she beat Ramat Gan's Tammy Kamzel 21-13, the latter nevertheless resisting stoutly till the last head after trailing 16-4.

In the pairs it was again Bransky who retained his 1997 title.

Partnered by Yair Bekier, the duo beat the Haifa pairing of Shefer and Ben-Dor 23-18. Bransky's supremacy was again the deciding factor against the accurate bowling of his opponents.

In the women's pairs, Molly Skudowitz, skipping for Natalie

Goldsmith, and feeling unwell, was forced to withdraw at the eighth end. Her place was taken by Shirley Shamos as lead. But their opponents, Miriam Pappenheimer and Jacqueline Lieberthal of Haifa, then went ahead 10-3 and continued in the same grand style of their previous performances to complete the game at 21-3.

In the Women's fours final, the Ramat Gan side of Naomi Fix, Tzila Gavish, Riri Merav and Miri Goldfarb beat the Ra'anana side of Molly Skudowitz, Helen Lewis, Shirley Shamos and Natalie Goldsmith 26-11. With the score 11-11 at the 12th end, Ramat

Gan collected a six, thereafter taking full control with excellent team work and without conceding a further shot till the 18th end.

In the men's novices, Luzik Wolfson of Ramat Hasharon beat Ramat Gan's Haim Shneider 21-7, while the latter's wife, Dalia, beat Valda Oken of Raanana 21-11.

The men's veteran's final saw John Goldberg who won the title in 1996 beat Ramat Gan's Aharon Cohen 21-18.

The men's fours final, which will be played next Saturday at Ramat Gan will again feature a Haifa team when Haim Shefer's side will be up against Ivor Wolf's Ra'anana team.

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